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Nathaniel Colver

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OF

REV. NATHANIEL COLVER, D.D.

WITH

LECTURES, PLANS OF SERMONS, ETC.

BY REV. J. A. SMITH, D.D.,

Author of "The Spirit in the Word," "The Shetland Apostle," etc., etc.

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PREFACE.

At the time of the great Chicago fire, this book was mainly written; the manuscript, with the exception of a few of the chapters, was in the hands of the printer, and nearly one half of the whole volume had been stereotyped. All this, including the manuscript, was of course destroyed; of the printed portions not even the proofs having been preserved. Various causes have delayed the reproduction of what was lost. At length it is given to the public, though with a painful consciousness of many faults in the work, and with the single hope that in the attractions of the topic and the honest intention of the writer some compensation for these may be found.

The names of those to whom I am indebted for material appear in the course of the narrative, and need not be repeated here. I beg them all to receive the assurance of my cordial appreciation of the excellent aid they have afforded me. The biography of an active public man, so active as to have kept little or no record of his own life, and so careless of all save the work he was doing as to have given almost no attention whatever to the preserving of such current chronicles as might aid one in adjusting the incidents of his career, with only scraps of correspondence, even, to be made available — is a difficult thing to write. Save with the help I have had, I do not see how it could, in this case, have been done at all; and even with such help the difficulties have been manifold. I

can testify, however, that the interest of the subject has fully compensated me for all the perplexing toil thus made necessary. If I have succeeded in preserving in some degree this interest so that it shall be to the reader what it was to the writer, it may profit the one as much as it certainly has the other.

J. A. Smith.

Chicago March 1, 1873.

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NATHANIEL COLVER.

CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE — BIRTH — EARLY LIFE. — 1794–1809.

Biography like history repeats itself. Human character amidst all its rich variety retains resemblances which tend continually to reappear, while so similar, in spite of all their differences, are the vicissitudes of man's lot in this world, that to some extent the story of one human life is the story of all. Few men have a right to suppose that the record of their career is one entitled to claim a permanent place, or that it is of importance beyond the more or less limited circle of their personal associations.

What is true of men in general, in this regard, is especially true of ministers of the Gospel. Moving in a sphere of life which, with all its publicity, is seldom characterized by extraordinary incident; with so much in the personal and

spiritual history of each that is common to the whole class; summoned to their self-sacrificing course by like convictions, tested by like ordeals, and working and achieving in the strength of the same commanding motive, it is not to be expected that so much sameness in the career should permit great variety in the record. It is only when one in this sphere of life is made conspicuous by marked personal characteristics, by eminent service, or by his relation to some momentous epoch in human progress, that the story of his life may properly be presumed entitled to a place in current biography. It is in the conviction that all these things were true of Nathaniel Colver, that this attempt is made to sketch his life, his character, and his services to humanity and religion.

There is lying before the writer of these pages, at the present moment, a collection of faded, yellow manuscripts. They are diaries, letters, abstracts of sermons, outlines of essays, belonging originally to one of a class of men whose record, perhaps, is less distinct and familiar to us of the present generation than in justice it ought to be made; — one of those to whom the cause of religion and of Baptist truth in this country is more indebted than seems always to be appreciated.

Called to preach Christ in sparse settlements, rather than in crowded cities, to the poor on the frontier rather than the rich at the centers of population, these men, adopting the Apostle's view that it were better to labor, working with their own hands, than to become "chargeable" to those whose worldly wealth was as limited as their own, united often the care of the farm with that of the church, and providing in this way for those dependent on them, found means to keep alive many a feeble church which otherwise might have died for lack of nutriment, and to carry the Gospel to many a wilderness home where otherwise it might never have been known.

The earliest of the diaries found amongst the manuscripts just mentioned, bears date March 7, 1793. Upon that day the writer with his family arrived in Orwell, Vermont, then but a small settlement, now a prosperous New England town. Two days are spent in adjusting home affairs. Upon the Sabbath he preaches from Rev. iii, 6, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." A day or two after he is "at Mr. Babcock's, to get an axe laid." The day following, "studied in the forenoon, in the afternoon tapped sap-trees." Next

day, "gathered sap in the forenoon, afternoon studied." Sunday coming again, he preaches from Rom. xii, 13, and Deut. xxvi, 5. The next day, "stormy, did chores and read Allein." A few days later we find him attending the sick, soon after that attending a council. On two successive Sabbaths, he preaches from Solomon's Song: upon the first from v. 16, "His mouth is most sweet; yea, he is altogether lovely. This is my beloved, and this is my friend, O daughters of Jerusalem;" on the second, from iii, 11, "Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion, and behold King Solomon with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals, and in the day of the gladness of his heart." Here is the skeleton of a sermon preached at another time from the words, "Let your speech be always with grace, seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man," Col. iv, 6:

1. The Grace of Sobriety.
2. The Grace of Consideration.
3. The Grace of Modesty.
4. The Grace of Truth.
5. The Grace of Meekness.
6. The Grace of Expedience.
7. The Grace of Religion.

Thus observing, your answers to every man will be as they ought.

A glimpse of the controversies then current

one finds, also, in the following title to what seems to have been published as a pamphlet:

An Address to the Churches of the Presbyterian and Congretional Orders on Abraham's Covenant, showing what it is, and what it is not.

The scriptural mottoes selected for the title-page, were evidently meant, especially the second one, to be suggestive.

What is truth? John xviii, 38.
It is a snare to a man to devour that which is holy, and after voweth to make inquiry. Prov. xx, 25.

In the "Preface to the Reader," we find this:

If I am a scribe instructed unto the Kingdom of God, I shall bring forth things new and old out of Scripture treasure, and you will need to read or hear attentively, and search the Scripture store, and see if my scrip is supplied from thence.

We may venture to copy the following specimen of the doctrinal teaching of the essay:

I now conclude I have fully proved that the covenant made with Abraham was not the Covenant of Grace, and that every person who attends carefully to the matter will see that God's promise to multiply Abraham's natural offspring to a great nation, sufficient to people the land of Canaan, and his promise to multiply Christ as the stars of heaven or dust of the earth (Gen. xxii,17) are promises of a distinct nature, and the one a type of the other; that Abraham himself was one of the production of Christ multiplied; and that all the production of Christ are related to God in a different Covenant from what they are when the Apostle calls them the offspring of God (Acts xvii.) saying "For we are all the offspring of God," that is, the product of His creating power. This all Calvinists ought to own, and that the new birth only brings persons out of one relation into the other.

We may finish these quotations with the quaint lines with which the essay concludes:

> The worth of truth no tongue can tell:
> 'T will do to buy, but not to sell.
> Happy portion he has got,
> Who buys the truth and sells it not.

We have, in these notices and extracts, introduced to the reader Elder Nathaniel Colver, the father of the subject of this biography; a laborious, self-sacrificing minister of the gospel, for much of his life in the frontier settlements of Vermont and Northern New York. Among some notes furnished us for use in these pages by Hon. E. D. Culver, of New York, we find the following particulars, which will be of interest in this connection:

"Nathaniel Colver was one of eleven children, whose father was Nathaniel Colver Sr., and his mother Esther Dean. The father was a minister of the Baptist denomination, as was *his* father of the same name. His mother was descended from the Dean family. The name of her father is not remembered, but connected with her family as brothers or uncles of hers were James Dean, John Dean, and Erastus Dean. The first of these, Judge James Dean, late of Utica or Westmoreland, N. Y., is remembered for his eminence as a judge and as a friend of the Indian tribes. He negotiated some important treaties with the

Indians, and was held in high repute among them for his integrity. The Dean family was long noted for the natural eloquence of its members; and it was long since said that the subject of this memoir took his natural eloquence from the Deans. His father was a remarkably close thinker, a *logical* reasoner, and a clear Biblical expounder, but he had none of those flashes of eloquence which characterized Nathaniel. The mother died when Nathaniel was young, the father lived until 1831 or 1832.

"The family was made up of seven daughters and four sons. The youngest son, Matthew Scott Colver, died at the age of six years, from a fracture of the skull by the kick of a horse. Another brother, John D. Colver, a youth of great promise and earnest piety, and who had, in the hopes and expectations of his parents been early designated for the ministry,* died at the age of twenty-three. Few hearts were ever so wrung with grief as were the hearts of those parents by that death.

"The surviving brother was the late Phineas Colver, who died in 1834. While Nathaniel and

* According to what appears in a statement by Nathaniel, to be found further on, John D. Colver had finally decided to become a physician. The time of his death was just as he was entering upon the practice of that profession.

Phineas both lived, and especially after both had entered the ministry, their hearts were like those of David and Jonathan, firmly knit together. Phineas was the senior of Nathaniel, in the ministry, by some ten years. He was ordained over the Baptist church in Champlain, N. Y., in 1810. This little body had been gathered through the labors of his father, some twelve years previous, and though weak in numbers, was a well instructed and united body. It was dissolved by the ravages of the war in 1812-14. In March of the latter year, Phineas removed to Swanton, Vt., and was settled over the church in that place. His ministry was eminently successful there, and large additions were made to the church. He continued in the pastorate of that church till 1818, when he removed to and was installed over the church in Milton, Vt., and soon after he gathered and organized a church in the adjoining town of Colchester, ministering to both churches with gratifying results until 1825. He then accepted the call of the church in Fort Ann, N.Y., and for some six years served that church and the one in Kingsbury. In 1833 he visited a son who was in Laporte, Indiana, where he succeeded in organizing a church of thirty-five members,

and on his way back to his home in the East he died at Livonia, Livingston Co., N. Y. As a minister Phineas was quite unlike Nathaniel. He had little of the dash or brilliancy of oratory, but was more like his father, close, logical and clear. He had a most retentive memory of the Scriptures, and had few superiors as a clear expositor and an invincible disputant."

Character and genius are in some respects an inheritance, in some respects an attainment. That from such a stock as has been described above should have sprung a nature at once gifted and hardy can surprise no one. Yet much of what was most marked, both in the gifts and in the deeper nature of Nathaniel Colver, was a result from the action of peculiar circumstances upon the tendencies, both of character and of genius, received at his birth.

He was born at Orwell, Vt., May 10, 1794. When he was between one and two years old, or in the year 1795, the family removed to Champlain, in the northern part of the State of New York. The life here was even more that of the pioneer. Northern New York was then mostly a wilderness. Indeed, to this day, in portions of it, more of what may remind of the dense forests,

with their mighty solitudes, ranges for the hunter or ambushes for savage enemies, which once clothed almost the whole continent, may be seen than in any other district east of the Rocky Mountains. What those anxious for glimpses of wilderness life seek now in the woods or on the lakes of the Adirondacks, might, at the time of which we write, have been found almost within gun-shot of each settler's door.

But we will allow the subject of our narrative himself to sketch the scenes amidst which his boyhood passed. In the year 1864, seventy years after the date to which we have referred, while upon a visit to Vermont in behalf of the Institution at Richmond for educating Freedmen ministers, to which he had devoted himself, he made use of the opportunity to visit Champlain; proceeding thither by rail from Burlington — his mode of travel itself a symbol of the mighty changes three-score years and ten had brought. We copy from his diary under date of August 5 and 6, 1864:

Visited in Champlain, and went to see the old farm where I grew up from childhood — from one year old to fifteen. My father moved here from Vermont in 1795, and settled on the bank of Champlain river. It was then all a wilderness. In Champlain and Chazy, two townships, there were but thirteen families. He

built a small log-house on the bank of the river. Nothing now but the cellar-hole remains. The large plum orchard and the cherry trees are all gone, and the grape vines. There I learned to trap the musk-rat and the mink, and also the wolf and the bear. I could remember in what direction, and about where, in the wilderness as it then was, my brother next older and myself caught four wolves in one winter. We caught them in fox-traps, and by fastening the trap to the end of a pole, the wolf was unable to pull his foot out. Let me here relate an instance of the sagacity of this animal. We set the trap in a springy place, and fastened it to a pole, as usual, but there was a hickory pole, long covered in the soft, springy ground with briers, moss, etc., that we did not notice. The wolf which got into the trap did, and digging under the pole passed under with the trap, which thereby had a firm fastening, and pulling his foot out went on his way, as we found when we came to the trap.

Oh, how freshly the scenes of youth came up to me, as I stood by that old cellar-hole. Just across a little river, on the swale, my younger brother was kicked to death by a horse one morning, as we were leading the horses back from the watering. Then first I met death. There, in that little dwelling, some stones of which remain, I spent my Sabbaths, with the old family Bible, as we had no meeting to go to. Oh, how fresh the remembrance of weeping there over the story of the cross. My mother early taught me to read and to love that old Bible. All the books I remember in our house for years, was that Bible and father's "little Bible," which he took with him when he went to preach, the Psalm-book, a spelling-book, and the "Third Part." And I here record my gratitude to God, that instead of Sunday School novels, I was shut up in my younger days to that dear old Bible. If I have any strength in the preaching of the Gospel, to that mother and that book am I indebted. I had nothing else to feed my mind with, and so I ate up that Bible. Dear, precious Bible! And dear, precious mother, who taught me to love it!

Afterwards, we built on the upper part of the farm. That house, too, is gone. But there is the well which father and I dug together; and there are some of the apple-trees which I put out with my own hands. There my brother older died — a noble

young physician. He was always in poor health, so was sent off to school and had a fine education. He died of bilious cholic, from which he had always suffered. His death was glorious. The house was full of the kind neighbors. He knew that mortification had begun at his feet. He was calm as heaven; telling his Christian experience to solemn listeners, the trial of his faith by the way; shook hands with them all, myself last, and bade them farewell. After this he closed his eyes, was quiet for several minutes, then opened them and smiled beautifully. He said, "These are the happiest moments of my life." After a moment he repeated the same words, with the happiest look upon his face, and then fell asleep in Jesus. There, at that death-bed side, the reality of religion and my own want of it so fastened upon my mind that it never left me, till I think it ended in my conversion. Oh, the beauty of a young man dying in faith!

As I stood there, upon the site of that old house, how time was annihilated! How present and fresh the past! In my father's family there was much hard sickness. I only had good health, and mine was the lot of service and toil. But in it all I can see the hand of God, in His providential training, and forming my body and mind for my subsequent life. I went to the grave-yard, the sleepers in which are now being removed. But I could not distinguish the graves of my two brothers and my grandmother on my mother's side. God will find them at the last day.

One sister, and a niece, were living in Champlain at the time of this visit, and by their presence would aid him in restoring the links of association between present and past. That distant past, those years of developing boyhood, were full of significance to him, as they also are to us. He seems to have been athletic beyond his years, and although only fifteen when the family returned to the Southward, he was already

in a great degree the family dependence for needful service on the farm. At some time during this period, he enjoyed the advantages of two winters' attendance at a school. This was all he ever had of school-training; so that there must have been truth as well characteristic quaintness in his rejoinder when inquired of many years later, where he had graduated — "In the North-east corner of New York, in a log-heap." To fell the timber, break up the new ground, and thus convert the wilderness to a fruitful field, was a severe tax upon muscles young as his; but he was already preparing for like work in another field, when again he would "lift up the axe against the thick trees." Even his sports, as we have seen, tended to develop readiness, dexterity and hardihood. Besides those of which he himself speaks in the above extracts, there was also the spearing of salmon in the river. In this also he acquired great skill.

And so we find no material difficulty in picturing the boy whose manhood was to be so much the fulfillment of what was then in diminutive type. We have but to reduce the stalwart frame, as so many knew it, to slenderer yet still robust proportions; to take away from the face its fur-

rows of care and thought, and see instead the smooth outlines of boyhood, yet with signs of that early maturity which the necessity to early think for others as well as himself induced; to soften the glance of the resolute eye, yet retain its quick, keen, sagacious outlook upon men and things; and to watch him while courageously facing his daily toil, or with the same courage tracking and trapping the wild denizens of the near forest, or surprising the alert salmon with an eye more quick and a movement more swift than even his own — and the boy Nathaniel is before us.

The father was much from home, and the mother an almost constant sufferer from ill health. The diary of the former, consisting for the most part of brief records of preaching appointments, indicates that he traveled extensively through the region of country about, preaching in dwelling-houses, or in the open air, or in barns, or wherever an audience, large or small, could conveniently assemble. The care of the children devolved mainly upon the mother, and how judicious and wise that was, with what good use of the limited means allowed her, the emphatic tribute of her son, given above, sufficiently shows.

When Nathaniel was fifteen years of age, the

family removed to West Stockbridge, Mass. He was sent on, for some reason, in advance of the family, and it illustrates the resolute spirit of the youth, that he performed the entire journey — a long, and for much of the way a lonely one — upon foot. Little did he know, or dream, toward what higher fortunes and nobler destinies he went: what a call awaited him in the new home to which he looked with a boy's eager curiosity, trudging onward with more than a boy's cheerful hardihood.

CHAPTER II

CONVERSION — CALL TO THE MINISTRY — FIRST PREACHING. — 1809–1821.

Our material for any account of that period of Mr. Colver's life which immediately followed the removal of the family to West Stockbridge, is even more scanty than for that already noticed. Very probably there would, in any case, be little to record. A country lad pursuing some round of manual labor, varied by such social opportunities as might be afforded in the rustic community where he had his home, and possibly by meagre and inadequate ones for an imperfect mental culture, could, in the uneventful routine of his life, supply very little of material to a biographer. The single fact which we have to mention for the six years between his removal to Stockbridge and his coming of age, is the choice which he made of a calling. At what time he was apprenticed to the trade of a tanner and currier does not appear.

We simply know that when, upon arriving at young manhood, he comes before us in a more conspicuous way, this is the business in which he is engaged, and for which he had evidently prepared himself with the expectation of making it the occupation of his life.

Incidents, however, which we shall notice directly, suggest the belief that even during this period of obscurity he had not failed wholly in calling attention to himself as one who might have other work in the world than that to which he had first put his hand. The fact, alone, that immediately upon his conversion he was spoken of by those who had known him from boyhood as one having gifts for the ministry, and this even, so far as appears, before he could have had much opportunity to exercise himself in less conspicuous spheres of Christian usefulness, is significant to the effect suggested. Indeed, all acquainted with his more marked characteristics as developed later, will readily understand how impossible it was that even as an uncultivated youth he should have been quite lost in the common crowd of such. It is impossible to believe that such public questions as were filling the land with excitement, just at the time when he was beginning to look

out upon life with the consciousness that he himself must there act a part, failed to rouse within him the spirit which in later years kept him in full sympathy with all that most nearly concerned the welfare of his country and his race. He was twenty years of age when the War of 1812 began. We cannot suppose that Stockbridge, though a remote country town, took no share in the stirring questions which so deeply concerned the national honor and the inviolability of the national flag; or that the voice which a few years later was heard from one end of the land to the other in the advocacy of more than one great cause, was now wholly silent. Some degree of practice even in public speaking he would seem to have had; and we can scarcely imagine him even thus early opening his lips without impressing such as heard him with the conviction that he was one of those who have things to say that are worth the hearing.

This supposition is confirmed by an incident which occurred in a brief campaign he himself made near the end of the war. In 1814, Washington having been burned by the British and Philadelphia being threatened, New York itself was believed to be in danger. The Governor of the State, De Witt Clinton, accordingly issued a

call for six thousand militia to rendezvous at that city for its protection. It must have been simply his desire to serve his country which induced Mr. Colver to take part in this enterprise. As a resident of Massachusetts, the call of the Governor of New York could have had no other interest to him than such as he himself chose to allow. We find him, however, enrolled with the troops assembled for the protection of New York, and remaining for several months in camp with them; their location being upon a hill near where Canal street now crosses East Broadway. The enemy not advancing upon the city as had been anticipated, the citizen soldiery found little occasion for their service, and Mr. Colver enlivened the dullness of camp life by reverting to his trade and making shoes for the soldiers. It was characteristic, however, of his versatile and ready spirit, when, one of his fellow-soldiers having been arrested and taken before some city magistrate, Mr. Colver, dropping the last and hammer, stepped at once into the sphere of the advocate. Having, or thinking that he had, some reason to doubt if his comrade would be treated fairly in the pending examination, he demanded permission to defend him, which he did to such good

effect that the man was acquitted. The feature of this incident which gives it value for us, is the fact that a gentleman of means, who was present, perceived in the off-hand advocate such signs of talent that he came to him after the trial was over, and though a stranger offered, if he chose to make the law his profession, to put him in the way of obtaining a legal education. This Mr. Colver declined, returning unambitiously to his soldiering and his shoe-making. Occasion for further military service on the part of himself and his compatriots not appearing, they were soon discharged, and returned to their homes.

All the evidence before us indicates that as a boy and a young man Nathaniel's character remained, morally, without a reproach. We have before us two or three of the letters written by him when at the age of twenty or twenty-one years to the lady, Miss Sally Clark, who afterward became his wife. They are not suitable, of course, for insertion in these pages; being the unstudied and unadorned utterances of a youth writing for the eye of one person only, and with no other object in view but to commend himself to the object of his affections. There is in these letters, however, a manly simplicity and direct-

ness, a serious and candid tone, which show them to have been dictated by a mind ruled by virtuous principle. It would seem, in fact, that the impression left upon him by the incident narrated by himself, as quoted in the preceding chapter, that of his brother's death, remained with him during all the years which elapsed until his conversion. These impressions imparted to his thoughts a serious tone, and exerted upon his actions a curbing effect, while gradually ripening toward the point of decided conviction. They were especially strong with him during his connection with the army, and by no means left him upon his return home.

Precisely under what circumstances these impressions assumed the more intense form of positive conviction, we are unable to say. How decided this conviction must have been all will realize who are aware with what strength in his later life every kind of religious impression or experience laid hold upon him. The culminating point was reached one night as he was returning by a lonely road over a mountain, from an evening meeting which he had attended. The pressure upon his thoughts was so severe that he found it impossible to proceed, and turning aside

into the woods that lined the road, he spent the night in wrestling prayer. As day broke upon the mountain there was a day-dawn also in his soul, and he came down the hill as one who had seen God face to face. There was a song for him in all the voices of nature around him, and even things inanimate, much more the rejoicing birds and the quietly grazing flocks, seemed to sympathize with him in his gladness.

One morning, during his last illness, the following lines, written by him at some time in the night, were found lying upon his table:

> Cheer up, my trembling soul, be strong;
> Cling fast to thy old midnight song.
> Though fierce the conflict, hard the fight,
> The victor's song is thine to-night.

A reminiscence, without doubt, of the conflict and victory of that night on the mountain.

Upon one occasion during this last illness, Mr. Colver, without entering into the details we have just sketched, gave to a visitor his own impression of the nature of the spiritual change which in his conversion took place. He had been speaking of his Christian hope.

"It is true, is it not," he had said, "that when

God saves a soul *the end* is always contained in *the beginning?*"

He then went on to illustrate this, in the story of his own conversion. It was wholly of God:— the arresting and awakening influence: the heavy pressure of conviction, which he bore about with him many days: the spirit of supplication that brought him at last to his knees in utter prostration of all his pride, and humble confession of guilt that has no apology; that view of the things of Christ which showed him that he had a Saviour; and that faith, at last, which took him out of himself, and with no plea upon his lips but that Jesus had died for him, cast him on the sole mercy of God through Christ; the "joy unspeakable" that followed — it was all of God. It is remembered that he described the great transaction as if it had been a conversation between the Spirit of God and his own soul, in which these questions were pressed home:

"Do you acknowledge yourself a sinner, deserving only wrath and death?"

"Do you confess that God is just in your condemnation, and would remain just, were he to punish you forever?"

"Do you accept the atonement of Jesus as your one hope?"

"Do you confess that it was necessary, that it is sufficient?"

"Will you follow Him whithersoever he goeth?"

To all these his soul made answer, "Yes," and the covenant of God with him was written and sealed in that hour. In that beginning, he said, the end was contained. Not that he himself had nothing further to seek or to do, but that it is so impossible for God to fail in his covenant, or forsake his own work. Having begun that work he would perfect it unto the day of the Lord Jesus.

Judge Culver says: "It was while his brother Phineas was in the pastorate of the church at Swanton, Vt., that Nathaniel, who was then living with his father in West Stockbridge, Mass., had opened a correspondence with him, as to coming there and going into the leather-tanning and shoe business with him. A letter was received from him in 1817. His brother had read but a few lines of it when he rose from his seat, his chin quivering, his eyes filled with tears, walked across the room, and said to his wife, 'Well, Nathaniel's tanning and shoe-making are

done. The Lord has taken him in hand.' The writer of this," adds Judge Culver, "well remembers the introductory sentence announcing the fact; 'Dear brother, above all else I want to tell you what the Lord has done for me.'"

He was baptized June 9, 1817, by Elder John M. Peck, then upon a visit to West Stockbridge; a providential and significant intersecting of the life-paths of two notable men. They did not think alike upon all questions in their subsequent career, and more than once came in collision. After one of these occasions at a meeting in Boston, the subject of difference being the then all-engrossing one of slavery, Mr. Peck exclaimed, as he retired, somewhat the worse for the encounter,

"Anyway, I baptized him!"

Mr. Colver had not attained to the peace of mind and the settled views in which he now rested, without severe conflict. His father was, in his doctrine, a strong Calvinist; one of those, too, for whom the views indicated by that term were the all-important articles in a Christian's faith. In his preaching he dwelt much upon them, and lacking the facility of illustration and the more attractive method by which the preaching of his son was characterized, his sermons were

perhaps fully as likely to create as to relieve perplexity. It may be, too, that at West Stockbridge Mr. Colver found himself in an atmosphere more or less charged with doctrinal controversy. This had been the home of Jonathan Edwards, when driven from his pastorship at Northampton. Here those two formidable works on "The Freedom of the Will" and on "Original Sin" had been written. It may be presumed that the effect of such a personality as that of Mr. Edwards would continue to be felt long after its actual presence had ceased, and that the minds with which young Colver came most in contact were those which had been moulded under doctrinal teaching such as will ever stand associated with the name of Edwards. We do not find, however, that he was ever seriously inclined to skepticism. He had simply to fight out the battle which to many another earnest mind has been inevitable. But he came out, as the account above given of his conversion shows, prepared to accept, to rest in, and take all his comfort from the doctrines of grace. These same doctrines filled ever a large place in his preaching, ae they did also in his experience. Nor was he unmindful of the fact that to mere worldly wisdom, as to the Greeks of old, they are "foolish-

ness ;" neither, was he of the still further fact, illustrated in his own experience, that even honest and candid minds may often be perplexed with these deep problems.

" Mr. Colver," said a Methodist minister once, after hearing from him a strong sermon upon the doctrine of election, " Mr. Colver, I think you will find that a very hard doctrine to get down men's throats."

" I think so too," was the quiet rejoinder.

At another time, preaching in a neighborhood where strong prejudice against this doctrine prevailed, with an ignorance of the Bible correspondingly great, Mr. Colver repeated in his sermon, and as a part of his argument, nearly the whole of the eighth of Romans. The people, offended especially with this portion of the sermon, were quite confounded when they came to know that it was neither Calvin nor Colver, but Paul, with whom they were at issue.

As Mr. Colver was a Calvinist, so was he a Baptist, from conviction. Although educated in the views of this denomination, he entered, while considering the subject of a public profession of his faith, upon an independent and thorough inquiry. That he might have both sides, he pro-

cured from the Congregationalist minister all the books he could supply him with, and satisfied himself by personal examination and search where alone the truth was to be found. It was in these earnest studies, with a view to the soundness and stability of his personal faith, that his preparation for the public ministry before him mainly consisted. A conscientious student of divine things, he became a teacher of others not without having first grounded himself in clear conviction, and such measure of knowledge as was within his reach.

One aware of the great enjoyment which Mr. Colver seemed always to find in preaching, and also of his remarkable readiness in every kind of public address, might not be prepared to learn of the shrinking diffidence, the almost insurmountable reluctance with which at the first he contemplated the Christian ministry when pressed upon him as a work to which the Lord had called him. Untried as yet in stated public speaking, painfully sensible of the deficiences of his education, having a very strong conviction as to the sacredness of the calling and the momentousness of the charge it implied, he met the first proposals of his brethren that he should take this office upon him with

a firm refusal. He had, also, others to consider besides himself. April 27, 1815, he had been married to Miss Sally Clark. One son, John Dean Colver, had been born to them. It behooved him to remember that the welfare and comfort of his family must be considered in a decision which might separate them from certain means of support. His wife's father and mother had their home also with him, and being inclined to skepticism would afford him small encouragement. In his wife, however, he had one like-minded with himself, and of her sympathy and approval he could feel sure, even should he accept a calling which then promised to set before both wife and husband a career of peculiar self-sacrifice. For, untried as he was, what reason had he to presume that his sphere of work or his lot in life would differ from those of other ministers, toiling in obscurity with the merest pittance of pecuniary return?

His chief difficulty, however, was in what he felt to be his personal unfitness. Accordingly, when the subject was urged upon him, his answer was, "I am a child, I cannot speak." An incident, however, soon occurred which took the question out of his hands and in some sort settled

it for him. Intelligence was received at Stockbridge, one Saturday afternoon, that a preacher was wanted for the following day at Austerlitz, a town in New York, just across the line. There was no minister at liberty to go, and the deacons of the church being applied to said, at once, "Nathaniel Colver must go." When addressed accordingly, Mr. Colver promptly declined. It was out of the question. Upon being urged, however, he finally consented to go to the place of meeting in Austerlitz, next morning, and hold a prayer-meeting; but for him to preach was impossible. Next morning he went. His own description in later years of that Sunday morning ride, and of his sensations as he drew near the place, were peculiarly graphic. He felt the presentiment that an ordeal was before him; that he would not be allowed to compromise matters in the way he had proposed. As he came near the house and observed the signs of a considerable assemblage in waiting, his heart sunk within him. He half resolved to turn back. Keeping on, however, he fastened his horse in some suitable place, and proceeding with a beating heart to the church-door, he was there met by the deacons, who greeted him kindly, but showed in

their manner and their words that a sermon was expected.

"I cannot preach," said Mr. Colver, "I have only come to conduct a prayer-meeting."

"You see," said they, "that the house is full. We must have a sermon. The people look for it, and must not be disappointed."

"But I have not even a text."

One of them gave him the words, "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners."

"I think I do know a little about that," said Mr. Colver, his courage reviving faintly.

He entered the house and the pulpit. During the opening service the burden seemed crushing, but as he gave out his text and began to speak it grew lighter. The subject opened to him beyond his expectation, and while all were delighted and surprised at the sermon which followed, he himself was more surprised than any of them. At the close it was announced, without consulting him, that he would preach again in the afternoon, and at the close of this sermon that he would preach a third sermon at a school-house, a few miles away. This last was the best of all. His father and mother were present, and the joyful

old man, turning to his wife as the service ended, exclaimed, "Our Nathaniel is a preacher;" a judgment dictated not wholly by parental pride and affection, but confirmed in the verdict of thousands since.

From this time forward there could be no further doubt. As rapidly as possible Mr. Colver put his affairs in a condition to allow him to devote himself wholly to the work, preaching meanwhile as called upon, chiefly at Austerlitz. In the year 1819 he removed to West Clarendon, Vermont, and here he was ordained, remaining in charge of the church two years. "This pastorate," says Judge Culver, "may be deemed the morning of his ministry. Crowds flocked to hear the young preacher. His elder brethren treated him with great kindness, and the church was greatly blessed under his labors." He still had misgivings, and many times, after preaching, felt that he could surely, in his lack of culture, and imperfect acquaintance with divine things, never find anything more to say. Some word of God, however, would kindle the flame afresh, and in the glow of thought, and feeling matter, and utterance abounded again. More and more, too, he learned to give himself wholly up to God. "I

felt," he was accustomed to say, afterwards, "I felt that I belonged to God, no longer to myself; and that henceforth I would think of God and God's cause, and leave *him* to take care of Nathaniel Colver."

The following, written apparently about this time as an article for the "Rutland Herald," although crude, as might be expected, as a composition, is still interesting, since it shows the working of his mind, and the tenor of his convictions with regard to the office he had now undertaken;

"Speak unto us smooth things: prophecy unto us deceits," was the language of the multitude of old, nor is the natural heart at this day less averse to the heart-searching and sin-condemning doctrines of divine truth. Men of the world are still calling for "smooth things." "Smooth things" alone are acceptable, from the most refined moralist down to the most vulgar and profane, together with all those professors of religion who think it of but little consequence what they believe or how they practice with regard to the distinguishing doctrines of Christ's invisible church, provided they are only Christians and get to heaven. Their language is,

> Speak thou, but mind and shun the truth, or if
> The truth you speak, speak that so smooth, so well
> Mix't up with flattery that all our
> Consciences may sleep.

Hence those ministers who are always careful to select that part of truth in which all are agreed, or which may be wrested to suit the views of all, or who, if they declare the whole counsel, are careful to wrap it up in flattery, or make an ambiguous application of it, are sure of the popular applause; while the man of

magnanimity, who boldly speaks plain, naked and necessary truth, commending himself to every man's conscience, is at once condemned as bigoted, uncharitable, or a disturber of the peace. This was abundantly exemplified in all the faithful prophets, in Christ and his apostles, and has been in every discriminating preacher down to the present day.

But the greatest cry, at present, and one that prevails the most against the faithful herald of the truth, is, "He preaches too plain." If you ask them, "Was it not the truth?" they answer, "I do n't know but it was, but it was too pointed; it cuts off ears; it was unreasonable; it has given offence." But let me ask, did not the truth always give offence to the haters of it? If by cutting off ears, they mean that it causes men to stop their ears, it is granted that it does. When Stephen preached the truth so pointedly, it caused the whole multitude to stop their ears, and produced his death. "When they heard these things they were cut to the heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth. Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord." But what then? Should it be withheld, or so modified as not to arouse the sleeping conscience, or should it be undisguisedly declared, whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear?

But the complaint is, still, "It was too plain!" Let me ask again, can gold be too pure, or truth too unadulterated? for so we must all meet it in a judgment day. Says our Saviour, "I judge him not; the words that I speak, they shall judge him." But what if men wish to be deceived? Should the ministers of the gospel, for a momentary good, gratify their unwholesome desire? It is said policy should be used; that the skillful physician will beguile a very nauseous pill down his patient's throat by concealing it in something acceptable to him. But will this kind of policy do, in dealing truth to the haters of it? In what shall it be concealed? If in other truth, that is equally disgusting. Should it be concealed in flattery, or the least offensive error? Will not that be holding the truth in unrighteousness? Besides, truth mixed with error becomes untruth, and of course will do no good. Would a witness under the solemnity of an oath be justified, who for fear of giving offence should keep back part of the

truth, or who should testify in such a manner as to remove the idea of guilt and wrest judgment? Certainly not. Then let the minister, whose obligation is equally solemn, remember that if in delivering his message he keeps back a part, or says anything that shall take the edge off the sword of the Spirit, so that thereby the conscience is lulled to sleep, he himself becomes accountable.

It is true that by sliding round all controverted points a minister will please more and gather a larger flock by whom he will be called a good shepherd; but he will not distinguish between them that serve God and them that serve him not. He will confound the precious with the vile; and if you hear their voice at all, it will not be the mild bleating of the lamb but the harsh growling of the mastiff. By so doing he may escape the bonds of Paul; but he can never, like him, say he has fought a good fight. He may get the woe which our Saviour mentions, when men shall speak well of him, but he will never wear the crown of the faithful. He may be crowned by the deceived with the laurels of philanthropy; but by the eye of true wisdom he will be discerned an enemy of man, a pusillanimous betrayer of the sacred dispensation committed unto him.

These robust and earnest words sound the keynote of a ministry, more than half a century in duration, which, whatever may have been its faults, certainly was never chargeable with weakness or want of fidelity.

CHAPTER III.

PASTORATE AT FORT COVINGTON — MISSIONARY WORK IN NORTHERN NEW YORK. — 1821–1828.

We commence this chapter with the following, for which we are indebted to Mr. William Kendall, of Neponset, Mass.;

"It was in the fall of 1825, I think, that a noble-looking man called at a public-house in New Lebanon Springs, N. Y., just in the edge of the evening. He was on a journey. He at once inquired of the keeper of the hotel if there were any Christians there who held evening meetings. He was answered that the Baptists held them whenever they could get a preacher. The stranger then said that he was a preacher of the gospel, and desired the landlord to inform the people that if they would make arrangements for a meeting, he would preach to them that evening. Accordingly the necessary notice was given. It was the custom, there, when a preacher was

obtained to notify the people by ringing the academy bell, but the meeting, it was understood, would be at the new Baptist meeting-house.

"A large number came together on this occasion, many of them, no doubt, attracted by mere curiosity, and by the peculiar manner in which the preacher had introduced himself. No letters or credentials were offered, or called for. As he entered the pulpit, the people saw that, whoever the stranger might be, he was no ordinary man, and their attention was fully awake to hear what he might have to say. He opened his Bible and announced to the audience that he usually preached without notes, but on the present occasion he had concluded to use notes, though fully aware of the prejudices in the minds of the people of that section of country against the practice. He had, he said, a printed sermon, better than he could himself get up; in fact, the oldest and best sermon that was ever delivered, and by the greatest preacher that ever lived.

"It was Christ's Sermon on the Mount, and the masterly manner in which he illustrated and set forth the great truths there contained, made it seem to me, and others older than myself, that we had never properly read those chapters before.

The preacher seemed to speak almost as one inspired. One thing is certain, he held his audience in rapt attention for nearly an hour and a half. When he concluded the sermon and dismissed the meeting, all, young and old, gathered about him to express their gratitude, and to inquire who he was and from whence he came. He informed them that his name was Nathaniel Colver, and that he belonged to the Shaftsbury Association.*

"In concluding this little sketch, let me say that no sermon I ever heard, and I have heard a great variety, made such a lasting impression on my mind. I cannot fully realize that so many years have passed since that impression was made."

We are grateful for this glimpse of the man whose career we are studying, the earlier steps of whose progress out of the obscurity in which he began to the conspicuousness he finally attained are for the most part so much hidden. The little narrative just given explains to us the impression which, by all accounts, Mr. Colver made wherever he went, and also how it was that in a singularly short time his name became almost a household

* Then a very large body, embracing the churches of Northern Vermont and New York as far as to the Canada boundaries.

word among Baptists throughout the northern districts of Vermont and New York. In every place he kept the great errand of his ministry in view; while his striking figure and bearing, and that original something in all that he said which riveted attention, with the peculiar and often most apt and forcible way in which he illustrated truth, made it impossible that even a casual visit, like the one described, should fail to leave behind it enduring traces. This grew to be still more emphatically true when, as we shall in due time see, he became a leader and a champion of those great movements of reform by which the popular mind of that period was so profoundly stirred.

At the date of the incident just given, Mr. Colver had left his pastorate at Clarendon, and had entered upon his second settlement of that kind at Fort Covington, in New York, near the northern line of the State. Visiting a relative at that place, sometime near the close of the year 1820, and preaching there, he received, soon after, a call, the peculiar circumstances of which seemed to put it out of his power to decline. At that time there was neither minister nor church, of any kind, at Fort Covington. There was not a

praying *man* in the place. A few pious women, of different denominations, met weekly in a prayer-meeting. This was the only semblance, even, of a religious service which the town had known since its beginning, save when some minister was providentially present and preached to such as were inclined to come together. Among the praying women spoken of was a Scotch lady, who had been connected with the church of Dr. Wardlaw, in Edinburgh, Scotland. She had the religious fervor and steadfastness of her nation. In due time she became a Baptist, and although, on this account, treated with great harshness by her husband, remained firm in her faith, and devoted to her pastor. Having been turned out of doors by her husband, on account of her religion, she was compelled to work for her livelihood, and on this account, one day when she brought a dollar to pay her subscription to her pastor's salary, Mr. Colver hesitated to receive it, saying that she was too poor to be expected to share in such burdens.

"And because I am poor," was her reply, "shall I ha' naething in the treasury of the Lord?"

Fort Covington, originally called French Mills,

took its name from General Covington, who was killed at the battle of Chrysler's Falls, Nov. 13, 1813, and was buried near a block-house at French Mills, which from him received the name of Fort Covington, and gave the same name to the place. General Covington was a brave man and a good officer. He was a native of Maryland, and had served one term as a representative in Congress. He had fought in the West under General Wayne, sharing, among others, in the engagement with the Indians called the battle of Maumee Rapids. The engagement in which he lost his life was one of a series of bootless ones in which the American army on the Canada frontier were involved through the bad leadership of General Wilkinson. It may have possibly afforded some consolation to the country at the time that the British, on their own part, were quite as unskilfully led, and that if the Americans lost much, the enemy gained nothing in consequence.

The more rapid opening of that portion of New York, and the prospect that its lumber might now find ready market and become a valuable staple, led the citizens of French Mills, or Fort Covington, to anticipate that their village, through its advantages in these respects, might grow into an

important center. Realizing, also, that religious institutions are essential in every well-organized community, the leading men of the place, though without personal Christian experience, were prepared to welcome the opportunity that seemed to offer, in the visit of Mr. Colver, for procuring such a pastor as they needed. An ordinary preacher would perhaps have failed to meet their views. Mr. Colver had in him the elements suited to impress and control robust and enterprising minds. They could see that he carried into his ministry a spirit like that which moved themselves to hardy and resolute undertakings, and were not the less ready to listen to him because they found him outspoken and fearless.

The letter which he received, after his return to Clarendon from the visit of which we have spoken, inviting him to Fort Covington, was as follows:

Rev. Mr. Nathaniel Colver: — *Sir.* — The inhabitants of this village and its vicinity, having made arrangements for the regular preaching of the gospel, in this place, and being favored, by divine Providence, with your ministerial labors here, though but for a short time, are seriously impressed with the importance of truths which you so satisfactorily delivered unto them: and are unanimous in their desire that you would come and settle with us as our minister.

To that end, a number of the citizens met and constituted the undersigned a Committee to confer with and invite you to settle in this place and take charge of our little flock. The undersigned, from a unanimous consent, are authorized to offer you

four hundred dollars. It is, however, understood that you will want a considerable part of this sum in the produce of the country necessary for the support of a family.

We, together with the citizens that have heard you, believe that you may be the means of much good to this people, that are destitute of the preached gospel. The Committee trust that you are fully apprised of our infant state of society. and that you will accommodate yourself to our condition and to our wants. The Committee present you their sincere respects, and their best wishes for your personal welfare and happiness.

JOHN AIKEN,
SIBIUS FAIRMAN,
LUTHER DANFORTH,
A. M. HITCHCOCK,
JAMES B. SPENCER.

Fort Covington, Jan. 29, 1821.

Mr. Colver entered upon his pastorate at Fort Covington in June, 1821. Some things appear in the few papers found amongst his manuscripts relating to that period under consideration, which may help us take our minds back to his frontier parish, and realize to ourselves the surroundings amidst which his work on that field began, and the emotions with which he contemplated it. Among these papers is the subscription list upon which as a pecuniary basis his work seems to have commenced. We find upon it sixty-seven names, comprising, probably, no small proportion of the church-going citizens of the place. Their subscriptions range from one dollar to fifteen; only two being found of the latter sum, and only one other as high as ten. The aggregate is $242.

It appears by the letter of the Committee that the salary promised was four hundred dollars. The deficiency in the subscription, as compared with this amount, was probably made up in the way intimated by the Committee, "in produce of the country necessary for the support of a family." We may feel certain, also, that agreeably to their anticipations he showed himself "fully apprised of their infant condition of society," and ready to "accommodate himself to their condition and their wants."

Something further of a like kind appears in a letter written by him very soon after arriving to his wife, whom, on account of her infirm health, he had found it necessary to leave with the family of his brother-in-law, Mr. Minor Branch, in Pawlet, Vermont. We take such portions as are of interest to our present topic. The letter is dated at Fort Covington, June 28, 1821. His young son, John Dean Colver, had accompanied him:

We arrived in town last Saturday evening, in good health, and found the people here anxiously expecting us, and somewhat disappointed that you were not with me. I was welcomed here by every one. I find things more pleasant than I expected. They have provided for us a very convenient dwelling-house in a beautiful situation. The Committee became responsible to me for the sum which was talked of, and pay as much in money as I shall

need. * * We board with Brother Clark.* I have a very pleasant study in an upper room, from the windows of which, almost every morning and evening, I can see from one to three deer within about a hundred and fifty rods, playing in the meadows. We have every now and then a good fat quarter of venison. I think you will be much delighted with this country. I am pleased with it beyond all my expectation. The streams are beautiful, the land even, and richly clothed with verdure; and I do think, with the addition of one flower (that rose which once styled itself a daisy†), its charms to me would be complete.

How much a trial to him was this separation from his wife, and how great his anxiety on account of her health, appears in another part of the same letter:

Nothing shall be wanting on my part, in coming for you whenever you shall write to me that you will be able to move. I trust that your feelings are correspondent with mine, and that thus you will in some good degree realize my anxiety while absent from you. I think, and think, and think over again, of the past happiness of your society, and can hardly be resigned to the length of time that must elapse before I again enjoy it. I feel very anxiously concerned about your health, and shall continue so till I receive an answer to this. But I have one consolation, and that is, I feel in some measure to commit you to the keeping of a holy God, while, though distant from each other, I trust that our prayers meet at the throne of grace. I hope you will not forget me there.

The sorrow which was so soon to come was already beginning to shadow his heart and his home. Two other sons besides the one already

* The husband of his sister apparently, and the relative to visit whom had first brought him to Fort Covington.

† Alluding to a correspondence before their marriage, in which he spoke of her as a rose, and she of herself as a daisy.

mentioned had been born to him: Phineas Clark Colver, at West Stockbridge, Mass., and Charles Kendrick Colver, at Clarendon, Vermont. When, after some months, his little household had been gathered to the new home, this presentiment of a pending separation was the one cloud in his domestic sky. In his work he seems to have been happy, while prospered in a marked degree. As he was about leaving Clarendon for this new field of labor, a brief letter from his father had, with apostolical fervor and devoutness, "commended him to God, and to the word of his grace." "Wherever God calls," this letter says, "it is safe to go; but wherever your lot is, take heed to the ministry you have received, and as far as Providence will permit, devote your time, talents and heart, to the study and ministry of God's word. Remember Christ's words, 'Without me, ye can do nothing:' and again Paul's, 'I can do all things, through Christ strengthening me.'" It was a saying of this good man, that "it is dangerous for a minister of the Gospel to err. God will be sanctified in those that come nigh him." The veteran preacher evidently looked to this son with peculiar hope, and the mingled blessing and charge with which he now seemed to set him

apart afresh, were like those of Jacob to the sons of Joseph.

One additional glimpse of the more private life of this time must be allowed us, before we proceed to other topics. In November of the same year Mr. Colver visited his wife, still in the family of Mr. Branch, in Pawlet, a small town in Vermont, near Rutland. In a letter written immediately after his return, he says:

I know by my own feelings your anxiety to hear from me, and hasten to gratify your wish. I preached in Granville the evening after I left you. The next day, at two o'clock, took the boat, and at three on Sunday morning landed in Burlington. From thence I went on foot to Phineas', seven miles, and preached in the evening. On Monday rode to Richmond and preached in the evening. On Tuesday returned to Burlington; took the boat Wednesday morning about three o'clock; landed in Plattsburgh just at daylight; walked six miles to Judge Newcomb's; borrowed a horse of him, started the next morning, and arrived here, over the muddiest and worst roads I ever saw, on Saturday morning, at nine o'clock. I was received very kindly by the people. There are quite flattering prospects of a reformation. * * * I think at times that I enjoy a comfortable degree of the divine presence, and indeed I need it much. I am in a dark land, and an uncultivated field. There is much moral death around me, but I feel encouraged. Some mercy-drops have already fallen, and we pray, yea we hope, for more. The Lord's arm is not shortened, that he cannot save.

The wife for whose presence he so much longed, arrived in the new home some time during the winter following the date of this letter. But she

did not come to remain. Three years it pleased God to permit him still the companionship he prized so highly, though they were years of suffering, and of constant decline. Often he carried her in his arms from her room to the carriage, on taking her out to ride. February 27, 1824, she died. She left a little daughter, three months old, who survived her less than a year: passing away to her mother's arms again Nov. 5, 1824. Of his experiences in connection with the death of his wife we have no record. Of his little one he says: "I will not complain. God has early taken his own, and though mine is a severe loss, she is undoubtedly happier in her mother's and her Redeemer's embrace than she could be in mine. What a cheering dawn is the lighting-up of immortality upon the grave, through the resurrection of Jesus Christ!"

While Mr. Colver labored diligently in his pastorate at Fort Covington, he did not forget the wide destitution about him. In speaking of his work during the period under consideration, we must therefore view him both as a missionary and as a pastor. In Fort Covington his preaching early took effect, so that in a few months a church was organized. For a time, however, he felt

deeply the lack of Christian companionship. In alluding subsequently to this season of loneliness, he would sometimes speak of a fractious deacon who, in some church where he had labored before, had caused him much trouble. He would say that in Fort Covington, in the early days of his ministry there, he thought more of this deacon than of almost anyone else, and was ready to declare that if he only had some one whom he could address as "brother," he might be as impracticable in other respects as he pleased.

The place of meeting was at first in the town-house. In due time, however, a meeting-house was built; while in this, as in the room first occupied, the divine presence and power were so manifested, that in no long time the pastor had, in faithful brethren, helpers of his joy as well as of his work. We are not able to give the number to which the church had grown when, at the end of seven years, he left the pastorate; it had, however, become a strong and influential body.

While making Fort Covington the center and chief seat of his labors, Mr. Colver, as we have already said, devoted much time and toil to destitute points more or less in the vicinity. One of these was Malone, the county-seat, seventeen

miles away. There he had a stated appointment, observing it with such regularity that even his horse acquired the habit of punctual attendance. On one occasion, the animal having strayed from home, proceeded straight along the road he had traveled so often, and duly reported himself at the gate of the deacon, at whose house his master usually stopped. In these missionary journeys, Mr. Colver traveled mostly on horseback, and his tall figure, wrapped, when the weather was cold, in a camlet cloak, gathered about the waist with a long scarf, or belt, soon became a familiar and a welcome sight in many a hamlet and many a rude, remote dwelling.

Under these labors the whole country about was moved, the people gathering from long distances in such places of meeting as could be had, and listening with the eagerness of those to whom the gospel of man's salvation is a precious gift, and eternal life or death great and awful realities. One instance is recorded when, a meeting being appointed at a certain school-house, in the winter time, families came for miles on their ox-sleds, completely filling the house, and crowding about the door on the outside. Mr. Colver stood in the door and till far into the night preached to them

the word of life. Some thrilling scenes occurred. On one occasion, in the midst of his sermon, the preacher, as he went on, noticed a peculiar stillness in the congregation. After a little one and another bowed their heads. He noticed this with uneasiness, fearing that either he was losing their attention or had given offence. In time, the whole congregation seemed affected by the same influence, — and then followed a scene never to be forgotten. As the sermon closed, men unused to weep were seen to be overcome with emotion, while one after the other they arose, making confession of sin, and in their sense of the awful divine presence exclaiming, "What a holy God!"

The marked feature of Mr. Colver's public career during this period was that connection with the anti-masonic movement of which we shall speak in the next chapter. Of his work as a pastor and a missionary, we attempt no minute detail. It must suffice to say that this work suffered nothing through his activity in the cause of reform, save in so far as detraction and hostility may have barred his way by prejudicing against him the minds he sought to reach and to influence. This connection with reform he regarded ever as a part of his ministry;

so that he never considered it a turning aside from his proper calling when, in obedience to earnest calls, he stood forth as the champion of some cause in which he saw to be involved vital interests of society and the race. Nor did his interest in revealed truth seem ever to suffer diminution through his devotion to other forms of truth. So it was, that in the heat of his anti-masonic struggle he kept his heart ever fresh in its devotion to the ministry of salvation, while the wilderness and the solitary place were glad for him. Some instances of his method in dealing with points of denominational difference may be added to what we have said of his work in general.

Near Fort Covington was a Scotch settlement, the people of which were Presbyterians, but came often to hear Mr. Colver. One day a woman of that settlement brought a child to him, to be baptized. He asked her some questions, as to her reasons for wishing this to be done, and then gave her a copy of the New Testament, telling her to read it, and when she found a passage there directing that infants should be baptized, to bring the child and he would baptize it. The woman went away, and Mr. Colver did not see her again for a long time. Meeting her at last, one day,

he asked her about the passage touching infant baptism.

"Ah," said she, "I did not find it; but I got my child baptized, and no thanks to ye!"

Two Scotchmen living some forty miles away, in the wilderness which then stretched along nearly the whole extent of the Canada frontier. had been led by their study of the Scriptures to have doubts of the validity of the baptism they had received as Presbyterians. At the time they began this inquiry, they had not yet heard of such a people as the Baptists. Learning, however, at last, of the Baptist church at Fort Covington, and of its pastor, they came the whole distance of forty miles, on foot, that they might become acquainted with them and with their faith and practice. Being invited to relate their experience to the church, they did so, but before receiving the ordinance requested permission to make inquiry as to the doctrines held by the church and taught by its pastor. Mr. Colver was accustomed afterwards to say that no candidate for ordination was ever more thoroughly catechised than were the church and himself on that occasion. Happily the result was satisfactory, and having been baptized, the two brethren, like

another long ago, "went on their way rejoicing."

At Malone a deacon of the Presbyterian church came under Mr. Colver's preaching and influence, and was soon convinced of the irregularity and inadequacy of the baptism he had received. It was very hard for him, however, to break the bond of his connection with those in whose fellowship he had lived so long, and he shrank from a public profession of his new faith on these and kindred points. The struggle of inclination with the sense of duty lasted so long and brought upon him such "a horror of great darkness," that his Christian hope was almost extinguished in the gloom. At length he yielded, and found in the renewal and enlargement of former joyful experience, how much better is obedience than sacrifice.

His method in dealing with those controversially inclined, is illustrated in the following:

A man once said to him, "I cannot be a Baptist. I cannot get on with your close communion."

Mr. Colver replied, "Why not go with the Methodists, then?"

"O," said the man, "I do not believe in falling from grace."

"Well, then, go with the Presbyterians."

"I can't," said he, "I don't like their sprinkling and infant baptism."

"Well," replied Mr. Colver, "why then do you blame us for not going where you cannot go yourself?"

While these labors were in progress, Mr. Colver found a lack in his home and in his heart. There was no mother for the little children, no wife to cheer and help himself. About one year after his bereavement, as before described, he made the acquaintance of Mrs. Sarah F. Carter, of Plattsburgh, widow of Mr. Luther Carter. A correspondence began which ended in a proposal and acceptance of marriage. The ceremony took place at Plattsburgh, January 25, 1825, the officiating clergyman being the Rev. Isaac Sawyer. In one of the letters written to Mrs. Carter, previous to their marriage, the following characteristic passage occurs: "In tendering you my heart and hand, though I think I can do it with that affection and those sentiments which become so intimate a connection, still it must be in subjection to God, in whose service I hope I have once dedicated them without reserve, or power to recall. Indeed, did I think you would be unwilling to

enlist with me in it, I should feel myself under bonds to desist. But I flatter myself with regard to this; indeed, though I have not been insensible to your personal worth, yet the consideration of your piety has served to rivet my esteem. With regard to future prosperity, I leave it with an overruling Providence." Later he writes: "I feel deeply afflicted at the situation of the people here. Since about the time I left for the East, there have been two dancing-schools gotten up in our village, in which almost all the young people are engaged. Religion, death, and eternity seem to be out of the question. It is truly with us a time of darkness. The prospect is painful to every praying soul. I have not been so much discouraged and distressed since I have been here. O, that God would arise and have mercy!"

In taking to his house and heart this second wife, Mr. Colver was not disappointed in the like-mindedness for which he had looked. Mrs. Carter brought with her a young daughter, Mary B. Carter, who was to him ever after as an own child, and who, when age, and sickness, and death came, returned into his bosom many-fold the constant affection and tenderness shown her by him

during the years that followed her first arrival under his roof.

But it is time we suspended these somewhat broken and desultory sketches, that we may give some account of the events which first called Mr. Colver into prominence as an advocate of reform. This, however, we reserve for the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

ANTIMASONRY.

No man ever, in entering upon a responsible and difficult career, "went out, not knowing whither he went," more truly and literally than Mr. Colver seems to have done in becoming a leader of reform. There is no evidence that he had ever imagined for himself any other sphere of public service than that of the simple preacher and pastor; or that, up to the time when they were forced upon him by his own personal experience, those questions which soon came to occupy him so largely, had in any special way engaged his attention. He became a Mason simply because he believed that in so doing he could be more useful as a minister of Jesus Christ; he renounced Masonry, because he had come to feel that instead of helping it only hindered such usefulness, and because convinced that he could not,

consistently, be at the same time a Mason and a Christian minister.

In this "Renunciation," published in 1829, he explains his reasons for entering the Order in these few words: "I was told by an elderly brother in the church, who was an advanced Mason, that a knowledge of Masonry would be of great use to me in preaching; that it would open to me a source of knowledge on divine subjects that I could not have without it. It was the opinion of many that I should derive a benefit from it in my ministerial labors; that it would facilitate my access to many, and give me an influence over their minds which would be beneficial." At what time he thus became a Mason he does not tell us, nor are we able otherwise to fix the date. He simply says, in introducing the matters discussed in this renunciation: "It is now a number of years since I made considerable (at least nominal) advances in Masonry." He adds: "I went as far as the seventh, or Royal-Arch degree; besides which I believe I took two of what are called honorary degrees." It was, at all events, after he became a minister that he joined the Order; very probably either shortly before or shortly after his removal to Fort Covington.

As his purpose in forming this connection had been to secure thereby the power to do more in his ministry, so it was first the conviction that in this expectation he had been deceived, and then the growing persuasion that what he had hoped to find a help was proving to be a discreditable incumbrance, which led him to examine as he had not before done the real nature and tendency of the institution. It was no impulse of ambition to place himself among the leaders of a great popular movement. He does not seem, at first, to have even contemplated the likelihood of being himself called upon to act in the matter in any public way whatever. As he himself was accustomed to explain his course, it evidently was simply as a private concern, a question of conscience, to be considered and settled as much by himself as possible, and with as little as possible to invite general attention, that he first took up the question of the right or wrong of Masonry.

The first recorded expression of his views upon these topics, besides, has a mildness, almost a vacillation, of tone, for which those familiar with his naturally positive and outspoken way of dealing with things would hardly be prepared. One such expression we find recorded upon the back

of a letter he had received from Dea. John Conant, of Brandon, Vermont, then engaged, in the face of serious difficulties, in establishing the Baptist paper, for many years, under the name of the "Vermont Telegraph," the organ of the denomination in Vermont and Northern New York. We give Dea. Conant's letter, as necessary to explain what follows:

BRANDON, Jan. 16, 1829.

REV. SIR: I have but a short time to write, in which it is my duty to say, accept of my thanks for your kind attention to our paper concerns. I hope we may now and then be favored with a communication from you for its columns. We proceed with much fear and depression of spirits; realizing that our present number of subscribers will not support the paper, and [that we] have to enlarge them and keep on neutral ground, on the ground of truth, — that is, not meddling with *masonry* or *antimasonry*. Some subscribers are disaffected because we will not open our columns to these questions, which belong to Cæsar's kingdom, and which are destroying many of our best churches in Vermont. Why do Baptists try to destroy themselves? Many good Baptists * * * cannot spare a dollar to purchase the "Telegraph," wholly devoted to their interest, but can freely pay money for antimasonic papers. It is going through our land like fire in dry grass, and I hope the flames will as soon go out.

Upon the back of this letter we find the following in Mr. Colver's writing:

It would seem that candor would lead those Christians who are Masons to the following conclusion: Our brethren who are not Masons will, and have a right to believe the statements that have been made, professing to disclose the secrets of Masonry, whether they be true or false; and with that belief, they have no ground to suppose they will be satisfied with their brethren who continue its advocates and patrons. And hence, whether those developments be true or false, it would seem to me that the whole law of Christianity urges them to a total discontinuance of their connec-

tion with lodges and Masonry. And further, Masons know whether they are true or false, and if they are false, from the relation they sustain to their brethren who are not possessed of their knowledge, but have reason to believe them true, are they not bound to desist? and if they know them to be true, are they not bound by the Word of God to sever the last shred that binds them to the institution? Antimasonic Christians may rest assured that Masonic Christians, having been waked up to the subject, if the professed disclosures which have been made are true, will by their Bibles and consciences be severed from the institution, when party and irritation shall so far cease as to let the Bible and conscience have their perfect work.

The "Renunciation" of which we have spoken bears date 30th March, 1829. The letter from Dea. Conant, with the endorsed views of Mr. Colver, was nearly three months earlier. Mr. Colver's mind, we should judge, was nearly or quite settled as to the course proper for him to pursue; still, what we have quoted of his thoughts upon the subject are evidently the reflections of a man convinced in his own judgment, yet so far uncommitted publicly, least of all publicly identified with either side in the controversy. He does not seem, either, to be here writing in reply to the letter he had received, but simply recording his thoughts and impressions while pursuing the train of reflections to which the letter itself had led. His reply, as actually sent, was as follows:

My dear Brother Conant: — I received your kind letter, and with you very seriously deprecate the contentious spirit which seems to infest and trouble our churches. O, when will the eye of Christians become single to the glory of God, and intestine broils cease from among the soldiers of the cross! My heart groans within me, in view of the many drawbacks from the force of that system of truth which the Baptists have embraced, arising from the apathy and indifference of some, and the misguided zeal of others. Both are alike injurious to the cause of truth and piety, and under the deleterious effects of both our churches are groaning.

But the subject you mention, as embarrassing the "Telegraph," is one of a peculiar nature. I hope God will give wisdom to its directors. I confess that would my advice weigh anything, I should be at a loss to give it so as to suit myself. You may wonder at the ground on which you find me. I have formerly made considerable advances in Masonry, but it is with me a subject of repentance, and that, too, on other grounds than that of the feelings of my brethren. When brethren who are not Masons express their trials with it, their trials are mine, and yet I feel an embarrassment in relation to the course I ought to pursue. I do not blame them for their trials, and it is my prayer that these trials may work the clearing of the church of Masonry, and all the lumber of heathenish and sacrilegious rites which are so incompatible with the whole genius of the gospel of Christ. I have no question in my mind on which side the influence of every Christian ought and will finally be cast. With me the only question is, how shall those act in relation to the subject, who have come to a decision in it so as not to do more injury than good by their exertions? The zeal of a Jehu is as unholy as the idolatry of Ahab; and I do think that the unhallowed zeal manifested in the antimasonic cause will be charged, at least in a very great measure, with the desolations of Zion. The disciples of our Lord were slow of heart to believe. If we attempt to hasten a man by any unskilful or violent effort beyond his measure, forcing him to ourselves as the standard of his advancement, we shall break his spirit and defeat our efforts. Said Jesus, "I have many things to say to you, but ye cannot bear them now." Could I see

in those engaged in the antimasonic cause that redeeming spirit so clearly exhibited in the conduct of our Lord, my heart would bid them God speed. Success would the more readily crown their efforts, and vastly less injury be sustained by the bleeding cause of our dear Redeemer.

The history of Mr. Colver's connection with Masonry, and his reasons for breaking with it finally, are so well summed up by Judge Culver, that before proceeding to the few details we have to give, we will quote his words. Says Judge Culver;

"During his ministry at Fort Covington Mr. Colver, at the urgent solicitation of some of his brethren who were Masons, and on the strong assurance that it would open to him new fields of labor and usefulness, united with the Lodge in that place. He took several of the lower degrees, and not being satisfied with them, was assured that as he went on to the higher grades, all would be explained. He advanced to the 'Royal Arch Degree,' but when being initiated into that he demurred to the oath, especially that part of it requiring him to conceal the secrets of a brother of that degree, '*murder and treason not excepted.*' He hesitated, refused the oath, and resolved to leave the Order. In due time he gave the public his reasons for so doing. They were bold, strong

and manly. They failed, however, to convince his enemies, and his position seemed to have aroused the ire of the entire Order. His renunciation was followed by their bitter denunciation."

It does not seem that the agitation then so great, and rapidly increasing throughout the country, caused by the abduction and murder of William Morgan, some three years antecedent to the date at which his "Renunciation" appeared, had very much influenced Mr. Colver in regard to his own personal course. In the paper just mentioned, of which we shall presently give the material portion, he refers to that subject only once, and in a way quite incidental. It will be seen, too, that his objections to Masonry, as there given, are such as had spontaneously arisen in his own mind in view of his relations and duties as a Christian man. As Judge Culver intimates above, he had made no secret of these objections, especially as respects that part of the oath already taken by him in its more guarded form, which bound him to conceal *all* the secrets of a brother in the order, even though they should be criminal secrets. Thus far the oath taken had contained the clause "murder and treason excepted." He had, however, been led

to believe that in becoming a Royal Arch Mason he must swear to conceal such secrets, "murder and treason *not* excepted." Such an oath he had declared, his conscience, troubled already by those obligations of a similar kind which he had incurred, would never permit him to take. So much, indeed, had he been influenced by these scruples, that for a considerable time he had absented himself from meetings of the lodge, and was already contemplating entire withdrawal.

It was not permitted him, however, to prosecute this purpose in the manner preferred by himself. Being pressed to proceed in regular form to the next degree, and a meeting of the lodge having been called with a view to afford him the opportunity of so doing, he was urged to attend, prepared for the expected ceremony of initiation. He expressed to certain intimate friends in the order his strong objections to so doing, and that his purpose was nearly formed to proceed no further in Masonry. They endeavored to remove his scruples, and indeed went so far as to give him the impression, if not the positive assurance, that the clause which constituted his chief difficulty was not in the oath. It seems to have been their hope that, once in the place of meeting,

surrounded by the accustomed paraphernalia, and faced by authoritative mandates on the part of his masonic superiors, he would yield and take the oath.

They should have known their man better. The idea of *intimidating* Nathaniel Colver, was an extraordinary thing to enter a sensible man's brain. After much urgency he consented to attend the meeting of the lodge, and upon the appointed evening appeared there, accordingly. He was taken to the room prepared for the initiation, in the customary way. The official persons to whom the direction of the occasion belonged were present, with their usual preparations. One with a naked sword in his hand stood at the door. The ceremony proceeded until that part of the oath was reached which contained the words, "murder and treason not excepted."

"I cannot take that oath," said Mr. Colver.

"You *must* take it," replied the chief official.

Mr. Colver drew himself up, with an expression of strong indignation, and in his firmest and most emphatic way answered,

"Gentlemen, I shall never take that oath!"

"You cannot leave this room alive, unless you do," was the reply.

This was too much. Those officiating in this scene were mostly his personal friends of long standing; men holding high positions in society, one of them a judge. It was hard to take a step likely even to alienate them, and if it had been possible to yield the point now at stake, their personal influence, apart from any threats, would have prevailed. But threats, and the exhibition of a drawn sword with a view to intimidate, roused all Mr. Colver's manhood. In a few emphatic words he set before them the enormity of the wrong they were doing, and the outrage of attempting to impose a burden upon his conscience against which his whole moral nature rose in protest, and then turning, walked straight past the drawn sword at the door, and went his way.

This, of course, completely ended his connection with Masonry. From that moment his course was clear, and from that point onward, we find him a champion of those views which hold all secret orders, whatsoever, as wrong morally, dangerous politically, and to be discountenanced by every good citizen, above all by every Christian. His "Renunciation" appeared soon after. It was issued, first, in the "Franklin Telegraph," a paper published at Malone. The editor in intro-

ducing it says: "The following renunciation of Freemasonry is from Rev. Nathaniel Colver, a Baptist clergyman of regular standing, who has resided in this county for several years past, and whose character for veracity stands fair and unimpeached. He has been the first to renounce Masonry in this county, and of course must endure such persecution as Masonic vengeance has in store." The date of the paper is April 2, 1829. We copy from this document what will indicate its character and spirit. It opens as follows:

> In making this communication to the public, I can freely say that I have no hostility towards the members of the Masonic fraternity; on the contrary, there are many among them whose upright course of life and acts of personal kindness have rendered them dear in my affections, and I devoutly wish that a diversity of judgment on the subject of Masonry might not sever those ties. I only claim what I hold to be an inalienable right of man, on this as on every subject connected with the welfare of community, to think and judge for myself and to show mine opinion. I am not sensible of being actuated by speculative motives. Were present worldly good my object, I should certainly secure it by silence. Nor do I feel disposed to arraign or impugn the motives of any. I am confident that whatever of wrong there is about by vastly the majority of Masons in relation to Masonry, is a want of carefulness in examining the subject. Nor is it my business to disclose secrets. It is in my opinion perfectly childish to talk about the secrets of Masonry, when by hundreds of unimpeachable witnesses they are laid open to the world.

After some further words of introduction, of which we have already quoted the more important

on a previous page, the writer proceeds to state his objections to Masonry:

I have from first to last been tried with its pretensions to divinity; for what else is it, when God is assumed as the Grand Master, and its professed work to fit stones for that spiritual building, eternal, in the heavens? I have tried without success to satisfy my mind by attributing this to her misguided and enthusiastic votaries. I have been disgusted and tried with many other things in it; but till I had weighed well the moral strength of its oaths, and became well satisfied that they are self-destructive, and have neither moral nor political strength or obligation, I have hardly dared to think or judge, much less to speak my mind on the subject. Though for years I have discontinued my practical connection with lodges, I have long since felt that the term *free-masonry* was in itself a contradiction, while by the dogmas of Masonry the very conscience is trammelled; and it is my decided opinion that Masonry is a *moral evil*, a *political evil*, and an *imposition upon the world*. Nor have I come to this opinion, or the expression of it, in haste, or lightly. It has been with me a closet work. I do in my heart believe it is a moral and political evil, and an imposition upon the world.

I believe it is a moral evil, in that its specious ceremonies are a combination of Christianity, Judaism and heathenism. Its oaths are licentious and profane; and so far as there is weight in them, they rob its votaries of the inalienable rights of man. In its titles and degrees it is highly profane and blasphemous.

I believe that it is a political evil, in that like the silent leech it sucks the very life-blood of civil justice, and palsies the executive arm of lawful authority, by carrying in many instances a secret though successful influence into the bar, upon the bench, and into the jury-room. Or if it chooses to thunder vengeance from the bar, the bench or the jury, it can yet stay execution, or facilitate the escape of the guilty; while it erects a tribunal of its own, unsanctioned by the laws of God or man, from which it extends a secret, multifarious and dreadful arm, before which thousands of consciences have fallen a prey. * * * * *

I believe that Masonry is an imposition upon the world. She boasts of light, and science, and knowledge. But these she only possesses in name. When brought forth to the light, and to the scrutiny of untrammelled investigation, what is she? Even her more enthusiastic patrons and votaries are ashamed of her — traitorously deny her personage and their allegiance, till they can drag her back into the dark, where phosphorus-like alone she shines, and where alone they can stupidly bow at her shrine as a mighty goddess. It is said that she has ever taught morality; and so did her prototype, the Church of Rome, while at the same time for daring to think or speak for themselves, she doomed thousands of the disciples of Christ to the stake. * * * * *

I am aware of the critical situation in which Masons find themselves. Encountering the furious storm of public excitement, and having sailed for many days without sun, moon, or stars, they have "fallen into a place where two seas meet;" the waves of conscience, truth and religion are beating in upon one side, while the waves of Masonic pride, oaths and vengeance are beating with no less fury upon the other. The fore part of their vessel is fastened in the mud, while the hinder part is broken by the violence of the waves. The soldiers have already counselled to kill the prisoners; but the voice of the centurion is heard, and they that can swim are fast casting themselves into the sea, and it is devoutly to be hoped that it may soon be recorded of them all, that they escaped safe to land. Gentlemen, you have yet the faculties of men; even Masonry has not destroyed them — she has only bound them for a season. Break her fetters — stand up! and avoid that duplicity and dishonesty to which she would bind you with her immoral oaths.

The conclusion is as follows:

"Some of you are the professed followers of the meek and lowly Redeemer. I hope you will read the second chapter of Paul to the Colossians, and the fourth of Paul to the Galatians, and be led to separate yourselves from Masonic rites and ceremonies, which are so incompatible with the whole genius of the simple, plain, open, frank, and holy Gospel of Christ. Your brethren have

looked within the door; their hearts are pained. Will you feed their grief by a stubborn adherence to that which you in conscience feel is not right? or will you listen to the call of Christ, to come out and be separate, and touch not the unclean thing?

Such words as these could not be expected to appear, especially in a time of great public excitement upon the subject to which they relate, without exasperating the one party quite as much as they delighted the other. They were reprinted in other portions of the country, and soon brought to Mr. Colver numerous letters, many of them from persons whose names were wholly strange to him, thanking him for the stand he had made, and expressing the joy their writers felt in a championship so outspoken, fearless and unsparing, of what seemed to them principles so vital. But he soon had reason to know that feelings of a very opposite character had been stirred. A form of persecution began which persistently followed him for many years: that of detraction and slander. At this late day it is quite unnecessary to even mention the tenor of the various accusations which were set afloat, none of which ever gained the shadow of a substantiation. It was singular, however, that a statement so easily disproven should have been sent abroad, as that Mr. Colver

had been disciplined and dismissed from his church for immorality.

For a time these attacks were borne in silence. Mr. Colver had given no other public expression of his views upon Masonry than was contained in his "Renunciation." He had disclosed no secrets, had made no speeches against the Order, and in his preaching discussed only topics such as had always formed the substance of his ministry. In the judgment of his friends, however, a time at last came when it seemed demanded of him that he should speak. Several gentlemen in Malone had addressed him a letter, soon after his public renunciation of Masonry, expressing their cordial sympathy with him in his views, and their determination to "use their utmost endeavors to sustain him against any persecution he might suffer" on account of the step he had taken. They invited him to address the citizens of Malone, in the Court House in that village, at any time which might be to himself convenient.

Becoming satisfied, at length, that to remain silent was no longer possible, he determined to accept the invitation, and sent an appointment accordingly. The court-room, on the day named, was thronged. As Mr. Colver entered and pro-

ceeded to the platform from which he was to speak, he found the space within the bar occupied by well-known Masons, among them some of those present upon the occasion when he had refused the Royal Arch oath and who had been active in the effort to bind him with that chain. They were to try intimidation once more. They did not believe that with such a group immediately under his eye, and almost within touch of his hand, he would dare to say what they dreaded, but what so many others hoped, to hear.

They were mistaken. Perceiving at once their purpose, he determined to disappoint them. He began his address by alluding briefly to the scandals which had been put in circulation regarding himself. To these he made no other reply, however, than simply to invite any who pleased to visit Fort Covington and ascertain for themselves his standing in the church and in the community. Proceeding, then, to the subject of his renunciation of Masonry, he gave, in plain language, without violence or harshness toward any, the history of his connection with the Order, and his reason for leaving it. As he went on, he appealed to the Masons sitting in front of him to correct him if at any point he stated what was not true. He

then recited, simply, without reserve and without coloring, the incident of his refusal of the oath with the attendant circumstances, calling again upon those sitting near, hearing every word, and watching every motion, to say if in anything he departed from the truth. They maintained unbroken silence. Not a word of contradiction, nor even of inquiry passed their lips. They saw that the public sentiment was with the honest, earnest, fearless man who was speaking, and the contemplated intimidation once more was for them, not him.

From this time forward Mr. Colver took and held his place as among the foremost advocates of the principles of Antimasonry. It is not necessary that we should go into particulars as to his services in that cause. We find him, however, repeatedly summoned to address conventions and other gatherings, in various parts of the country. July 16, 1829, he is invited to speak at a State Convention to be held at Montpelier, Vt., on the 5th of August following. Later in that year he addresses a meeting of the church and friends generally, for the consideration of the matter of Free-Masonry in Royalston, Vt. June 4, 1830, he is invited to lecture on the subject of "specula-

tive Free-Masonry" to the citizens of Mount Holly in the same State on the fourth of July, and about the same time a like invitation came from Clarendon. We find him, also, at a county convention held, in the same year, at Woodstock, Vt., then at another similar convention held at Randolph.

The change of pastorate, of which we are to speak in the next chapter, brought him into a new field, alike as a preacher and an advocate of reform, enlarging his influence, and bringing under the sway of his eloquence and his strong conviction a very great number of persons, to many of whom he remained ever after the *beau ideal* of the impassioned, intense, courageous reformer. Unsought by him, a new sphere had opened; one which could be occupied without abandoning that to which he had given himself in a yet higher consecration. It is not too much to say that among those who were chiefly instrumental in arousing and directing public sentiment with reference to the wrong and peril of secret orders such as that of Masonry, Nathaniel Colver ranked always with the very foremost.

CHAPTER V.

NEW FIELDS AND NEW LABORS. — 1828–1831.

The last two years of Mr. Colver's stay in Northern New York were occupied in labor quite miscellaneous. He seems to have relinquished the pastoral care of the church at Fort Covington, save so far as he shared this with service at other points; as at Malone, Ogdensburg, and Gouverneur. During the same period we find him acting as the missionary of the Northern Missionary Convention, and as agent of the Baptist Education Society of the State of New York. This latter appointment bears date April 6, 1826, but appears to have continued during the remainder of his stay in the more Northern field. The appointment was announced to him by Dr. Nathaniel Kendrick, then at the head of the Institution at Hamilton. As affording us a glimpse of a man whose memory is a Baptist heirloom, and of the work in which

he was then engaged, we may copy here the letter by which this announcement was accompanied:

DEAR BROTHER: You will, in accepting the above appointment, consider yourself a standing agent for the time being to receive and forward all moneys designed for this object in your region; and if you can spend a little time between this and the first of January in securing aid for the funds, we will compensate you for your time, allowing what we allow other agents, which is five dollars a week. You may perhaps obtain a subscriber or two to the foregoing Constitution. We shall be happy to see you at our annual meeting, the last Wednesday in May. Examinations of the schools will take place on the Monday and Tuesday before.

Concerning the Institution, Dr. Kendrick writes:

We have just received seven promising pious natives from the Pottawottamie tribes, and Carey Station. Brother McCoy, whose praise is in all the churches, as a missionary in that tribe, is here with them. Our school is enlarging considerably beyond our funds, and at present beyond our conveniences for room. We are commencing another building, 100 feet by 60, four stories high. If we could obtain a few hundred dollars from your region, either for the building or the funds, it would help us very much. We have about $1,500 to pay by the first of June to meet the arrears of the present year. The whole expenses of the school for the year will be over $3,000. We are informed that your Missionary Society has appropriated a small sum to this Institution, and that individuals in your region are willing to afford us some aid, if they were favored with an opportunity. We wish to obtain your assistance for that purpose, for which you will please accept the appointment herewith sent.

It seems, therefore, that the agency was unsolicited by him; that, however, it was accepted and its duties discharged with considerable efficiency and success, appears from subsequent correspondence. Of his work as the missionary of the Northern Convention we find but a single

memorial, in the shape of a brief report to that body, even the date of which is not given. In this he says: "I have spent in your service eight Sabbaths in Hopkinton and Parishville, four in Ogdensburg, two in Massena, one at Hogansburg, one at De Kalb, two in Upper Canada, making in all eighteen; besides which most of the weeks have been spent in your service, visiting churches, preaching, visiting and baptizing. The number baptized in the bounds of the Association is 206. In visiting the church in Bastow, Upper Canada, a very happy termination has been put to the unhappy difficulty of which the Society is aware, and which was spreading its effects through all our denomination in that Province. I can say that in obeying your command I have found it truly blessed. The Lord has appeared for his churches. I have found a spirit of liberality that bespeaks the joy with which your feeble messenger has been received."

Upon another loose piece of paper we find a memorandum of the work during a single month; work, however, performed somewhat earlier than the time of this appointment, the record being dated January, 1826. It illustrates all the same his method of labor. With Fort Covington as his

center he seems to have spent the month in daily labor in preaching and other services, there and in the region about. We find that in twenty-eight days twenty-six sermons were preached, so distributed that not above two of them were in any one place. We judge that this may fairly represent his work in general, more particularly after he had devoted himself wholly to missionary service. There was great need of such, not only in the numerous communities and settlements where no provision existed for a stated ministry, but in the larger towns, where the churches themselves were too often "as sheep having no shepherd." One of these was at Ogdensburg, where it was earnestly hoped, at one time, he might be induced to settle as pastor. As a picture of the state of things which Mr. Colver saw in all directions on that field, and which we know profoundly stirred his sympathy, we copy the following from a letter dated at Ogdensburg, March 21 1827:

> There is a great field for labor, about this place. A number of scattered Baptists may be found in the region round, hid amongst the rubbish, and who need to be dug out. There is a small church in the town of Morristown, which needs to be looked after, and has been long neglected by our order. As we look over the field, we find a great many persons who have once belonged to Baptist churches, but having been long without the ordinances of the church, are almost ready to faint. They need looking after, and there must be some one to strengthen the things that remain. It does appear to be a duty for our order to do

something to reclaim these wandering backsliders. And now it seems that the Lord has opened a door by which this may be accomplished, without applying to the Missionary Board. If we can support a minister in this place, he can have all the week to labor among the people alluded to and plenty of ground to labor upon. Further, we think it very important that this place should be supplied with the preaching of the true gospel at once; in other words, that you yourself come immediately.

To this urgent call Mr. Colver yielded so far as to visit Ogdensburg, and spend some time there. The church pressed him hard to make that place his home, and to finally settle with them as their pastor. In the meantime his church at Fort Covington was entreating him with like urgency to return to them. What he found in Ogdensburg, a letter to his wife, dated May 22, 1827, in some degree indicates. He says: "You will probably wish to know how I get on here. I can hardly tell you. As yet, we have had nothing in the church but labors and expulsions, but we hope the corn will grow better when we get it weeded out. I found the church in a dreadful situation, but there are many precious brethren in it, and I think prospects are brightening. Other appearances are favorable. There are some candidates waiting for baptism; our meetings are full and solemn, and as yet all men speak well of the preacher. Probably the tone will soon change when they see the effect is to promote Baptist

interests. But I feel disposed to leave every event in the hand of God. I find good friends here; the people are kind, but I do not feel at home."

While these labors were in progress the exciting events detailed in the last chapter were also transpiring. Detraction was busy with the preacher's name, yet he kept the even tenor of his way. How little such attacks availed is shown in the fact already mentioned that the church he had served so long in Fort Covington, and where he was thoroughly well known, still clung to him as the pastor of their choice; while at Ogdensburg he was pressed with such entreaties as we have seen. As it became known that he could not accept the latter call, the church in Gouverneur came forward with a like invitation. At the same time, however, similar calls were reaching him from a field further south, and the circumstances taken together seemed to indicate that the call of Providence was in that direction. This other call was a joint one of the churches in Kingsbury and Fort Ann, in Washington county. We may here once more quote from Judge Culver's notes:

"It was just about the time of his call to

Kingsbury and Fort Ann that his position as to Masonry was made public. These churches but preferred their claims the stronger, when this was known. Their position on that question, like that of several of the neigboring churches, was early taken. The old Bottskill church,* for nearly forty years under the charge of Elder Edward Barber, and of which Mr. Colver himself subsequently became pastor, took the lead in opposition to the Masonic institution. Some eight or ten of the churches united with Kingsbury, Fort Ann and Bottskill, and formed in 1831 or 1832 the 'Bottskill Baptist Association.' This body continued its district organization until 1834, when the Washington and Bottskill Associations united in one body, adopting a common Antimasonic article, and were long known as the 'Washington Union Association.'"

Speaking in another place of this call to Fort Ann and Kingsbury, Judge Culver says: "He hesitated for a time, whether he should accept. Northern New York was every year presenting new fields. Calls, there, for aid from churches, people and ministering brethren, were multiplying. Remonstrances against his removal poured

* At Union Village, Greenwich, in the same county.

in from all quarters. But the situation of the two churches calling him was peculiar. Their late pastor, Rev. Phineas Colver, had fallen under the censure of some of his brethren, for his real or imputed views concerning the Christian Sabbath. These brethren had charged him with denying any authority for the Sabbath. The churches to whom he ministered did not so understand him; but rather that he held the *Jewish* Sabbath to be a part of the Jewish ritual and law, and blotted out as one of the handwritings of ordinances, by Christ; but that the first day of the week, being the day on which he rose, was by his immediate followers adopted as the Christian Sabbath; and hence that his resurrection on that day, the practice of the disciples, the designation of it by John, in the Isle of Patmos, as the Lord's day, and the uniform practice of the early church, were sufficient for the observance of it as the Christian Sabbath. In these views the two churches concurred, and sustained him. For this they were threatened with proscription, as was any one who should become their pastor. Their condition was critical. Timid men feared to preach to them, and their enemies predicted their downfall.

"In this dilemma, they turned their eyes to Nathaniel Colver. He well knew their position and sentiments, as he did those of his brother, their late pastor. He differed from them both, as he did also from those brethren who condemned them. He took his authority for the Sabbath from the *Creation*, brought it down from thence independently of the Mosaic economy, and accepted the first day as substituted in place of the seventh with the sanction of Christ, his apostles, and the early church. He at length yielded to their request, and in 1829 removed to Kingsbury."

The Committee of the Kingsbury church who addressed him upon the subject of this proposed change in his pastoral relations, urged the call upon him in terms like the following: "It would be insufficient to say that the church are unanimous in calling you to be their minister. To this should be subjoined their very importunate request that you should gratify our ardent desire; for we consider ours an urgent case, and we hope and trust that we shall not be denied, however unworthy we are. We are further authorized to say that the views of the society hereabouts correspond with those of the church; and, in short, joy and satisfaction seem to light up the coun-

tenances of all around us, since encouragement has been given that you will come."

It was by no means into an element of peace and quiet that Mr. Colver entered, in removing to Kingsbury. The question affecting the views of his brother and predecessor had been agitated in such a way as to become an occasion of much disturbance and division. To a quite unnecessary excitement upon the subject, had been added, as is so often the case among Baptists, crude and irregular disciplinary proceedings. We have not access to the details of these proceedings; but their general character may be inferred from the tenor of the following inquiries, addressed by Mr. Colver to Rev. Norman Fox, then pastor of the Baptist church in Ballstown. The purpose of the inquiries was to indicate points in which it was believed that the course adopted in the case of Rev. Phineas Colver and the churches of Fort Ann and Kingsbury had been irregular and unscriptural. The inquiries, so far as they relate to the principles involved, were as follows:

1. Does a Council or Association possess disciplinary power?

2. Suppose a Council are divided in their decision, and the church sees fit to adopt the decision of the minority; is there official power with the majority to exclude the church from the fellowship of sister churches?

3. Suppose a few enemies to yourself should prefer the charge against you that you were a Universalist, and should succeed in getting a decision of the majority of a Council that you were guilty, and that the church ought to exclude you ; but the church should still judge with the minority of the Council that you were not guilty, and refuse to exclude you, proclaiming at the same time their disapprobation of the heresies charged against you ; would they thereby forfeit their standing as a church? And

4. Suppose the majority of the Council, as above, should publish their result, and carry it to an Association, and the Association should sanction their decision, and formally exclude your church ; would this act be officially binding upon your sister churches?

5. If a Council and Association should do as above, would it not be usurpation of authority, which every church would be bound to resist?

6. Has it not been one of the greatest sources of danger to the church of Christ, since the days of the Apostles, that disciplinary power has been assumed by popes, bishops, councils, and other bodies not authorized by Jesus Christ, and ought not our churches to watch against it with a holy jealousy, vigilance, and uncompromising integrity?

Further light upon the true character of these proceedings, may be gleaned from the following, in which Mr. Colver proposes to give his correspondent a view of the case as it then stood. He claims,

1. That Elder Phineas Colver has been excluded and published, while the decision of any church with which he was connected has neither been had, nor sought for.

2. That no gospel labor was ever taken with him ; and

3. That these churches, in order to escape the censure of the majority of the Council, must compromise the judgment of the minority of the Council, and their own judgment, and censure a

minister who in the judgment of both was innocent of the heresies laid to his charge ; and further, they must sanction a course of discipline obviously at war with any rule found in the Bible which prescribes the course to be pursued with an offending brother.

It would appear, therefore, that the majority of a Council had assumed the right to exercise church discipline in the case of Rev. Phineas Colver, and this without even consulting the church to which he belonged. That his brother's protest against such a proceeding should be indignant and strong, was to be expected. His closing words are: "I am aware that there is something imposing in the decision of a large and respectable Council, but nothing which ought to induce the church of God to swerve in the least from his word. 'The counsel of the Lord, that shall stand ;' and, 'Woe unto them that seek counsel, but not of me.' Already have our churches become vastly too lax, both in making themselves acquainted with the rules of discipline, and in the execution of such discipline, in the expectation that if they get into trouble a Council will help them out. Any attempt at infringement upon the prerogative of the church, or to deprive any of the members of a church of a fair trial by and decision from the church, should be as severely viewed as would be an attempt in

our courts of jurisprudence to infringe upon the rights of a jury, or to deprive a defendant of the trial and decision of a jury. Shall such proceedings be justified?"

To the day of his death, Mr. Colver found occasion to protest against irregularities more or less of the kind here in question; so strong is the tendency where difficulties and complications arise to act upon the dictates of impatience, to be convinced by rumor, and driven by clamor. He remained to the last staunch in his testimony against all views or practices which tended to invade the independency or usurp the prerogatives of the church of Christ.

As the pastor of churches, therefore, put out of the fellowship of the denomination, however unjustly, Mr. Colver's position was one of trial and difficulty. Not less so was it in view of the stand he had taken in opposition to Masonry, and the bitter hostility excited against him in consequence. Less of direct fruit, for these reasons, was gathered in his labors as preacher and pastor, while events were bringing him into positions of increased activity and prominence as a reformer. He found himself speedily in association with men of like spirit with himself, some of whom, like

Edward Barber, in Union Village, Isaiah Matteson, in Shaftsbury, and Elder Tinkham, of White Creek, were his superiors in age and length of service; while others, such as Archibald Kenyon and Elder Wait, were either younger than himself or at the same age; yet all alike recognizing his eminent gifts, as one born to lead. Gradually, too, his acquaintance extended to points more distant, and he became known and appreciated by men, such as Dr. Brantly, of Philadelphia, occupying positions of conspicuous usefulness.

The conflicts occasioned by his course on questions of reform were often very painful. Public excitement on these questions reached an intensity such as may be realized by those who recall the history of events immediately preceding and following the late War of the Rebellion. Perhaps the comparative newness of the topics discussed, and the freshness of that contact with them into which the public mind was brought, made the flame burn more fiercely. That all the bitter things said, and all the harsh, unjust, and cruel things done were limited to either of the parties to this great struggle, no one will claim. It may be said of Mr. Colver, however, in strict justice, that whatever of error appeared in him was not in the direction of

gratuitous bitterness, or of personal rancor. The name by which he believed that any institution, any practice, any avowed principle, ought to be called, was invariably the name by which he called it, assailing institutions and principles, rather than men. That men, however, should consider themselves personally attacked, even in this, and identifying themselves with the cause they had espoused and which he denounced, should feel in themselves the blows aimed at it, was not surprising. Bitter personal enmities were the result. His family were often filled with the deepest anxiety on his account, when public duty called him from home, and if his stay was prolonged into the night were sometimes fearful that even his life might be endangered. On one occasion, entering the door-yard of a violent Mason, he found him engaged in cutting wood, and as he approached was threatened with the uplifted axe. A steady look in the angry man's eye, and a sharp word of stern reproof, were sufficient to quell the spirit of murder which the passion of the moment had roused.

The controversy even found its way into the churches, especially into that at Fort Ann. There were Masons among its members, and one of them,

a prominent man in the Order, formally charged the pastor with falsehood and deceit, in having renounced Masonry, and having also spoken of it in such terms of public condemnation. Mr. Colver demanded that there should be an investigation; a result which the accuser ought to have anticipated, yet which, when the pinch came, he found himself unprepared to meet. Of course, to prove upon the pastor what had been charged, it was necessary to show that his statements regarding the character of Masonry were not true. The only way to do this — to show what Masonry is *not*, was to show upon the contrary what Masonry *is*. Could this be done without disclosing secrets?

The meeting called for the investigation of the charge was largely attended from all parts of the county. Mr. Colver took his seat with the members, waiving his privilege of presiding as pastor of the church, and the chair was filled by another. All things being ready the accuser was called upon to make good his charges by bringing forward testimony. His answer was that he could not do this without betraying secrets of the Order. Upon this the church, holding the charges as totally unproved, were about to pronounce the pastor innocent of blame, when he, rising from

his seat, where up to this point he had remained perfectly quiet, came forward so as to face the audience, and requested to be allowed to prove *affirmatively* all that he had said of Masonry. Permission being given, he called upon five venerable members of the church who were also, or had been, members of the Masonic fraternity, and required them to say, on their honor and conscience as Christian men, whether what they had heard from his lips as to Masonry, its character and tendency, was or was not true. For one of these brethren, in particular, it was a cruel ordeal, yet he with the rest sustained the pastor and declared that the truth of the allegations he had publicly made could not be denied.

At the close, Mr. Colver summed up the whole case in a masterly speech, in which the Order and its supporters were so set in the light of Christian principles and common justice as to leave but one possible conclusion. Not only was the pastor fully exonerated, but the accusing member was excluded for bringing a false charge. The effect in the community and in the towns about was something tremendous. The two towns of Kingsbury and Fort Ann became overwhelmingly Antimasonic from that time. This event, occurring soon after

Mr. Colver's settlement upon his new field, seemed to make him widely known in his capacity as a champion of reform, and from that point on calls to address conventions, mass-meetings, and similar gatherings, were almost constant.

Mr. Colver's pastoral relations with the two churches we have named were not long continued, and by the causes to which we have referred suffered, even during that brief time, some degree of disturbance. He removed to Kingsbury in 1829. Soon after his health began to fail, and many fears on his account were felt by his family and friends. For the sake of relief and change, he visited Philadelphia some time in the year just named, taking Poughkeepsie on his way, where he made some stay, preaching there with signal acceptance, and so as to create a strong desire to secure him permanently as a minister in that place. We have had from one, not a member of Mr. Colver's denomination, graphic descriptions of the impression there made by him: of the curiosity excited as the stranger in his rustic garb, but with a form and face so striking, ascended the pulpit; of the eager listeners which his first sermon had, and the crowds which from that time forward flocked to his meetings. The Bap-

tist meeting-house being much too small for those who came to hear, that of another denomination was offered and accepted, till a faithful sermon on Baptism closed its doors against him.

In Philadelphia Mr. Colver became acquainted with Dr. Brantly, then a pastor in that city. Of the intimacy that followed, another, more competent than ourselves, will speak in the next chapter. We will only say here, that this visit resulted in his engagement to assist Dr. Brantly in a protracted meeting, in which his power as a preacher was impressed upon the people of Philadelphia in a way never to be forgotten afterward by those who heard him; what is far more, the hand of God was with him, and many were added to the church of such as are saved.

CHAPTER VI.

PHILADELPHIA — HOLMESBURG — UNION VILLAGE. — 1831 - 1839.

"Your request," writes Dr. W. T. Brantly, now of Baltimore, "for such reminiscences as now occur to me in connection with the late Dr. Colver and my father, carries me back to a conversation which I heard in the year 1829. Addressing some members of the church who, at the time, were visiting at his house, my father said to them, 'You must by no means allow that brother to leave us. His aid, at this time, is invaluable. If necessary our members must go to him in a body, and insist on his preaching again.' On inquiring, I learned that the brother referred to was a stranger who had that day providentially come into the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, where my father was conducting a protracted meeting. Having been introduced as a Baptist

minister, he was invited to occupy the pulpit. It was thought he would preach an ordinary sermon on some gospel topic, and then resume his journey homeward. No one present had ever heard him preach, nor indeed was he known to any one present, save the person introducing him, to whom, perhaps, he had brought a letter. He had been preaching but a very few minutes before my father, than whom no man was quicker to appreciate talent, or more candid in commending it, discovered that the stranger was a man of no common power in the pulpit. As he progressed the impression was deepened; and by the time he had concluded his discourse, pastor and people were bathed in tears, and made haste to thank the Lord for sending such a preacher among them. This stranger was the Rev. Nathaniel Colver. From that moment my father took him to his heart, and their friendship and intimacy continued unabated up to my father's decease, in 1845.

"On the occasion to which I refer, the circumstances were all such as to invest the preacher with peculiar interest. The church was in the midst of an extensive work of grace. Christians were enjoying a time of refreshing, and sinners in large numbers had been awakened or con-

verted. The people were in a frame of mind to appreciate the gospel. Then, too, Mr. Colver was in a fervent spiritual state. He was laboring under some disease of a pulmonic nature, if I remember aright, which he was advised by his physician might at any moment terminate his life. He preached, literally, as though each sermon might be his last. With feeling heart and tearful eye, he exhorted sinners to repair to the refuge where he himself found such blessed security. Speaking like a man who expected to go from the pulpit to account to his Master for the manner in which he had acquitted himself, his appeals reached to the hardest heart, and brought to profound concern many who had for years resisted the ordinary calls of the sanctuary. Yielding to the importunities of his brethren, he continued to preach throughout the meeting, and when he left the city there was at least one congregation unanimous in their praises of his ability and zeal as a servant of Jesus.

"For months after he left the city and returned to his humble parish in Washington county, New York, my father took great pleasure in entertaining his ministerial guests with an account of the preaching of the remarkable visitor, who had

recently appeared among them unheralded and unexpected. Though but a boy of a dozen years of age, I well remember how my father repeated the illustrations, so original, striking and apt, of gospel truth with which the sermons of his new friend abounded, and in what glowing terms he would eulogize his fine endowments. 'There were violations of grammar,' he would say, 'and sundry rhetorical improprieties, faults of style and faults of pronunciation; but the genius and unction which marked the discourses quite overshadowed and obscured any deficiency in the vehicle by which the thoughts were conveyed.' You will appreciate this commendation when I tell you that, as a preacher, theologian and scholar, my father stood in the very front rank of his contemporaries. He was, moreover, a very severe critic. It was quite unusual for him to express himself very warmly in commendation of the preaching which he had heard. He could generally see how the sermon might have been so much better than it was, that his animadversions were more frequent than his praises. When he eulogized, you might be sure that there was real merit.

"In the autumn of 1831, the First Baptist Church,

Philadelphia, determined to hold a series of meetings. Amongst the ministers invited to participate was Mr. Colver. The impressions of his former preaching were still fresh in the minds of the people, and great expectations were indulged from his second visit. So far as I can remember, at this remote interval, the expectations created by the first visit were fully sustained. I have before me the *Christian Index* of October 29, 1831, of which my father was editor at the time, and in a notice of the meeting from his pen, I find these words: 'On Sunday evening the crowd was beyond all example in our place of worship. After all the seats above and below in our spacious house had been filled, the aisles were supplied with benches, until no more could be introduced; and the whole space was literally crowded. In this situation they remained until ten o'clock at night without manifesting the least impatience. The congregation was dismissed, with the view of making room for the inquirers to come forward and occupy the front seats; but though dispersed, the people appeared unwilling to leave the house, and consequently the greater portion of them remained, whilst mourners to the number of about one hundred came forward.'

"The preacher, on this remarkable occasion, was Mr. Colver. The account before me states that 'his lips appeared to be touched as with a live coal from the altar, and he spoke for God in a manner which commended itself to every conscience.' During the meeting, he was a guest at my father's, remaining some two or three weeks with the family. Though very young, I was old enough to be moved by his preaching; and now, at the lapse of forty years, I remember when he closed his discourse on the Sunday evening to which my father has referred, what a profound solemnity pervaded the entire congregation as he repeated the last words of the sermon, 'Even so, come Lord Jesus, come quickly.'

"On the morning of the same Sabbath a discourse of wonderful power from the words, 'Search the Scriptures,' had been preached by the Rev. John Finley, of Baltimore, pastor at the time of the First Baptist Church in that city. When Mr. Colver was in the pulpit in the evening, a young friend sitting near me, who had never heard him, expressed regret that Mr. Finley was not called on to speak again. 'Wait,' said I. 'You will hear a better sermon than you heard this morning.' 'Impossible,' said my friend. But

when Mr. Colver had concluded, he turned to me saying, 'He *is* great!'

"Whilst a guest under my father's roof, there was the most intimate intercourse between Mr. Colver and him. In many respects the two men were strikingly dissimilar. My father was a student, a ripe scholar, with a taste fashioned on the purest classical model, elegant in his diction, dignified in his delivery. He was, moreover, a Southern man, having resided nearly all his life in the Southern States, and with all his prepossessions in favor of the dominant customs and institutions of that section of the country. Mr. Colver, on the other hand, was thoroughly Northern, by birth and by predilection. He had enjoyed but scanty advantages in the way of education. His knowledge, so far as books could supply it, was very meagre. Apart from the Bible, he would have been considered a very untutored man. His taste was crude, and his thoughts were sometimes clothed in a garb which did not commend them to polite ears. But notwithstanding these differences, the two were drawn into the most fraternal intercourse. They had two points in common: both were men of *genius* and *piety*. My father delighted in the rich imagination of his guest, united as it

was to reasoning powers of such a high order that he was a powerful logician without ever having read a chapter in the logic of the schools. On the other hand, the guest drank in with delight the discourse of one whom he cheerfully conceded to be competent to give him instruction on many topics of the greatest importance. Then both were men truly consecrated to Jesus, and each rejoiced to find such talents as the other possessed cordially devoted to the cause which they both loved.

"Some time after this second visit to Philadelphia, the Baptist church at Holmesburg, a small village some ten miles distant from the city, needing a pastor, my father, anxious to have Mr. Colver near him, suggested his name for the position. He was called. The church extending the invitation was small and feeble, and could offer but a very inadequate salary. My father, however, induced members of his own church to contribute, and a sufficient salary having been provided, Mr. Colver took charge of the church in Holmesburg. Here he labored for several months, preaching frequently in Philadelphia, and often being a guest at my father's. It was while a pastor here, in 1834, that an incident occurred which

gave me ever afterwards a tender feeling towards Mr. Colver. During a protracted meeting which was in progress, after I, a thoughtless sinner, had resisted all the invitations to go forward for prayer, he came down the aisle to the pew in which I was standing and said to me, in the most earnest manner, 'William, come up here and let us pray for you.' 'Not yet,' I replied. 'Yes,' he said, 'come *now*,' and taking my arm he led me to the pews occupied by the anxious. I went, and was overcome by my emotions, and a few days afterwards indulged the hope that I was a Christian. Years have passed, in which we have had no intercourse whatever with each other. The red lines of internecine strife separated us for a time; but I have never forgotten the debt of gratitude I owe to the man of God who on that memorable night said to me, '*Come now!*'

"I was now at an age to appreciate for myself the genius and piety of Mr. Colver. I shall never forget a temperance speech which about this time he delivered in his own church in Holmesburg. He did not expect to speak, on the occasion referred to. An Episcopal minister, and a lad who had recently been baptized, were the invited speakers, and this, it was thought, would

furnish sufficient entertainment for the evening. But after these had concluded, Mr. Colver sprang to his feet and delivered an address, wholly unpremeditated, and yet of such wonderful power that the impression remains with me after the lapse of nearly forty years, and after I have heard the best temperance orators in the land, from John B. Gough to the humblest advocate of the cause. During his settlement at Holmesburg, I said one day to Mr. Geo. Holme, father of Rev. Dr. Stanford Holme, and one of Mr. Colver's most intelligent hearers, 'How is your preacher doing?' 'Better and better,' was the reply. 'He has just been preaching a number of most interesting sermons from the same text. Having finished on Sunday before the last, he said last Sunday that he would gather up the fragments, and this sermon of fragments was the most wonderful of the whole.'

"Late in the year 1834, Mr. Colver left the neighborhood of Philadelphia; and in 1837 my father's health requiring a warmer climate, he removed to Charleston, S. C. From this time these two friends saw but little of each other, though a correspondence more or less regular continued until my father's death.

"I have thus endeavored to record a few incidents connected with Mr. Colver's history in and about Philadelphia. My father's admiration for his talents and piety was such that he took pleasure in eulogizing him on every occasion when his name was mentioned. Some time before my father's death, and after he had removed to Charleston, Mr. Colver wrote him an earnest letter, insisting that the relation of master and slave was in itself sinful. My father dissented entirely from his opinions on this subject. But their friendly understanding was not interrupted. In one of his letters, written at that time, Mr. Colver said to my father, 'Though we differ so widely on this subject, do not suppose that I have cast you out of my affections. God gave you a place in my heart, and I must ever love you.' I quote from memory, but this is the substance of the expression. And I may say, in all that I have written I have been obliged to depend on the recollections of some two-score of years, and in some unimportant details I may not be very accurate. You have, however, my best recollections, and if they add anything to the interest of the memories which you are collecting of one who, with some failings, was an eminent and devoted servant

of Christ, I shall rejoice. As I write, the commanding forms of these two men of God rise before me. They were both physically cast in nature's finest mould; and though the noble caskets have perished, it is sweet to think of the nobler gems, now shining among those who turn many to righteousness."

The intimacy between Mr. Colver and Dr. Brantly was of a character so interesting and so suggestive, that we are disposed to dwell a little longer upon some of its features. The following incident among others may be related: While residing in Holmesburg, Mr. Colver spent a night with Dr. Brantly at his home in Philadelphia. Some passage of Scripture being discussed between them, they differed as to the interpretation, Dr. Brantly giving a more literal and Mr. Colver a more general sense to the words. They parted in the morning, Mr. Colver returning to Holmesburg. About noon, to his great surprise, he saw Dr. Brantly driving up to his door. As Mr. Colver hastened out to see what could be the matter, Dr. Brantly exclaimed; "Brother Colver, I was wrong about that passage; you were right. I have been looking at it again." Mr. Colver used to quote this incident as illustrating the

great nobleness of character for which, as well as for the gifts of genius, his friend was so eminent. Convinced of error, he could not rest till, though at the cost of a ride of ten miles, he had set the matter right.

Mention is made in the interesting reminiscences copied above, of a letter sent by Mr. Colver to Dr. Brantly, after the latter had become pastor of the Baptist Church in Charleston, South Carolina. We may anticipate both dates and events so far as to give portions of this letter here, as it seems naturally to belong in this connection. The letter is dated at Greenwich, N. Y., Dec. 6. 1837.

My Dear Brother Brantly: In looking over the *Gospel Witness*, to-night, I was reminded of the debt I owe you, by reading a notice that you had accepted a call from Charleston, S. C. Pardon me, my dear brother, for neglecting you so long. It has been owing to a constant pressure of other calls; and what to write now, I hardly know. I will not return your intimation of casting you out of my fellowship. I could not get you out of my heart if I should try. I believe that God gave you a place, there. My heart even now melts, when I think of past scenes. It is not meet that I, your inferior, should attempt to dictate; but I will consecrate myself in an entreaty of love, "though I be less loved."

The announcement that you are going to Charleston distresses me much. Had I known it in time, nothing would have prevented me from visiting you. I fear you are not aware of the present state of things. Is it not possible, my dear brother, that your early habits and Southern partialities may have prevented you from examining the subject of slavery in its *tendency*, *bearings*, and *prospects*, with your accustomed sagacity? I know your good heart

and shrewd understanding (I do not flatter) will one day break off old fetters, and you will look upon things as they are. I remember a remark of yours, that the Bible justifies slavery. But can you, dear sir, use the prescribed and guarded servitude of Moses, as a cloak for Southern slavery? Southern slavery is constituted and defined by statute, and is little more analogous to Mosaic servitude than the servitude of Christ to the church. Do read the slave laws of South Carolina, and ask yourself, as in the presence of him before whose altar you have sworn to teach all the truth, and rebuke all sin, if you can go and minister to a church who support such a system of outrage, such an attempt at the annihilation of God's image in the person of the doomed slave.

I know not that any member of the church will treat his slave as by law he is permitted to do, but he who quietly holds a slave under the laws of South Carolina, is guilty of sustaining a system of iniquity, of sustaining a system of law which puts it in the power of any slave-holder to despoil all the ties of consanguinity, the virtue, and even the life, of his slave, with impunity. Pause, my dear brother, do pause, and look at it apart from earthly considerations, before you take the step, lest having taken it you awake to most unhappy results.

The letter closes thus:

I cannot say what I wish in this brief letter, but I speak as unto *a wise man*, judge ye. I have said enough, if you will stop and *think*, not superficially. God will, one day, commission this subject to your closest thoughts. May he do it now, while the humbleness of the instrument will secure the glory to his own name. I impart not this only, to you, but "my own soul with it."

Mr. Colver remained in Holmesburg only a portion of the year 1834, preaching his first sermon there on the 18th of May in that year. Under date of Nov. 16th in the same year, we find the following, which indicates that after some six

months the relation of pastor was dissolved by his desire; not however, without having even in that brief time bound his flock to him in strong affection:

> The Rev. Nathaniel Colver having solicited a dismission from the pastoral care which he has for some time exercised over us, we have, reluctantly, complied with his request. Our attachment to him has increased with our knowledge of his character. We consider him an aimable man and devoted Christian; and, what is more important, a faithful and able minister of the New Testament. Much have we been instructed and comforted under his ministrations. The Lord has, we trust, made him instrumental of building us up in our most holy faith, and of adding to us a goodly number of such as shall be saved.
>
> During brother Colver's connection with this people, his labors have been abundant in sister churches in Philadelphia and the vicinity, among whom his personal worth, and his might in the Scriptures, will not soon be forgotten. We assure our brethren of other churches that we are deeply grieved at the necessity imposed upon us of parting with a man and minister whom we so sincerely esteem and love; but it shall console us to reflect that his many talents and glowing zeal are to be exercised in a more enlarged sphere than that which is presented by our infant church and limited congregation.

Among the pleasing incidents connected with this pastorate at Holmesburg was the baptism of Mr. Colver's third son, Charles K. Colver, which occurred August 24, 1834. We may take this opportunity to mention that to the three sons of whose birth we have already spoken, two others had now been added; Hiram Wallace Colver, born at Fort Covington, Aug. 18, 1826, and William Nathaniel Colver, at the same place, March 17, 1829. A daughter, Sarah Colver, of whose early

and lamented death we shall have occasion to speak further on, was born in Kingsbury, March 24, 1833.

For the sake of putting these events in their proper connection with Dr. Brantly's sketch, we have anticipated various matters important to our narrative, and to these we must now return. We have already spoken of Mr. Colver's active zeal in the cause of Antimasonry. He was scarcely less conspicuous in his earnest participation in another great movement, whose vital moment to social and individual welfare, and to the cause of religion as well, he profoundly felt. Mr. Colver must have been among the first to engage in the temperance movement, which is that to which we refer. While still at Fort Covington, he had already become known as among the most active advocates of this branch of reform. "His articles in the newspapers," says Judge Culver, "and his public addresses, aroused the attention of individuals and churches to the subject. During his sojourn in Kingsbury, numerous and large societies were formed under his labors. His bold and manly denunciation of the use of and traffic in intoxicating drinks early drew upon his head the curses of the drinkers and sellers. Few men of his day were ever so roundly abused in bar-rooms as

Nathaniel Colver." Called in many directions to preach on special occasions, he often availed himself of opportunities thus afforded for introducing this other subject to the attention of those whom his sermons had already roused and interested. It was upon such an occasion that the writer of these pages first saw and heard Nathaniel Colver —at the dedication of the Baptist house of worship in Ticonderoga, New York. Mr. Colver preached the sermon of dedication in the morning; in the evening delivered a lecture upon temperance. Both alike left impressions which remained long after. The cause of temperance, especially, received from his visit an impulse which in that place it much needed, and which sent it forward on its course, with vigor greatly enhanced. An incident connected with another more notable occasion, we give in Judge Culver's words:

"It was during the temperance agitation that he was sent as a delegate to the New York State Temperance Convention. The great question of the Convention was the Old or the New Pledge. The former pledged abstinence from *distilled spirits*, the latter from wine, ale, and cider, as well. The wine-bibber could go the former, but condemned the latter. The Convention was at

Albany. Dr. Welch was then in his prime. He had influential wine-drinkers in his church, and perceiving that the Convention was terribly in earnest, and that the Total-abstinence men were evidently in the majority, and were putting upon their passage strong total-abstinence resolutions, he came forward as a peace-maker, as he said, 'with the olive-branch of peace.' He asked to supplement the resolutions with a proviso, to the effect that 'the Convention nevertheless adhered to the old pledge.' He made a most eloquent speech in support of his amendment, as Dr. Welch knew how to do. 'Colver' was loudly called for by the Convention, to reply. He did so, in one of his happiest veins, and with telling effect. Being of the same profession and denomination with Welch, he dealt the more freely with him and his 'olive-branch.' The strong point made by the Total-abstinence men was that sorrowful experience had shown that the old pledge was too weak. It did not save; men took it, and died drunkards.

"'Now,' said Colver, 'suppose a small colony of settlers go out and locate in a new country. They clear a patch, enclose it for their cattle and sheep, and to make it safe for the time being, they hedge it with a *brush-fence*. After a few years,

they find that the old fence do n't secure their cattle, or protect the enclosure. Every now and then a lamb or a calf escapes and is lost. They call a meeting, resolve that they must have a new fence, of new material, higher and stouter built. But one farmer objects to the new resolutions, unless they also resolve, at the same time, to *stick to the old brush-fence*.'

"The hit was most effectual, and brought down the house with tremendous cheers. Dr. Welch's amendment was annihilated, and the Total-abstinence men carried everything before them. For long years, 'Colver's old brush-fence,' and 'Welch's olive-branch' were topics of rich comment."

During these years of active occupation in various departments of reform, Mr. Colver's more directly ministerial labors were a good deal distributed. During the year 1829 he was engaged quite constantly as pastor of the churches in Kingsbury and Fort Ann. The year 1830 was devoted largely, in connection with the same pastorate, to lecturing against Masonry. A part of 1831, was given to the church in Greenwich, at Union Village, where the pastor, Rev. Edward Barber, an old man, and having already served that church

as its pastor for the long period of forty years, gladly welcomed him as an associate laborer. In 1832 and 1833 he still divided his time between the churches we have named, residing during the latter year at Kingsbury—save that some time in each was spent in journeys southward, in one of which he visited Baltimore and Richmond, and in another aided Dr. Brantly, of Philadelphia, in a protracted meeting. Six months of 1834, as already related, he spent in Holmesburg, Penn. In the summer of 1834, upon the death of Elder Barber, the church at Union Village at once applied to Mr. Colver, addressing him in an urgent call to become its pastor. With this, in the fall of that year, he complied, and remained as pastor of that church until 1838.

We pass lightly over these dates, as most of the events connected with each have already been noticed in detail. The pastorate at Union Village, however, we must note more particularly as one of the most remarkable periods in Mr. Colver's ministry. It was about the time at which he entered upon this pastorate that, while upon a visit South, his attention was in a more especial manner directed to the subject of American slavery. An incident which occured at Washington

was afterwards spoken of by himself, as having contributed in a large degree to this result. "When," he says, "I saw an old man, with gray hair and tottering limbs, going down Pennsylvania avenue, hobbling upon his crutches as fast as he could, weeping and lamenting, trying to catch a glimpse of his lost child, sold to the soul-drivers, and now bound for the rice-swamps of the South, and saying, 'They promised me *he* should never be taken from me, but they 've sold him, and I shall never see him again!' —*I could stand it no longer.* I hated a system which thus rioted in blood and in broken hearts." A letter from Dr. Brantly had strongly commended him to the Baptist church in Richmond, and the impression received by the church from his visit was highly favorable. It is probable that a settlement there, as pastor, would have resulted, if his convictions upon the subject of slavery had not interposed.

At Union Village, although often interupted by calls to address public gatherings of all kinds upon topics of reform, his labors as pastor and preacher were still abundant and fruitful. It was a pastorate marked by those elements which characterized his ministry in his best days. Strongly doctrinal yet vividly practical and telling, earnest

and unsparing, yet tender and pleading, his preaching, while it drew about him a throng of intelligent hearers, was effectual in conversions to an extraordinary degree. During the two years previous to Elder Barber's death and his own final settlement, he had given a good deal of his time to labor in the church. Mainly as the result of these labors three hundred were, during those two years, baptized in the church. In the four years of his settled pastorate, he baptized three hundred and ninety; making for the whole period of six years no less a number than six hundred and ninety. It is certainly remarkable that, occupied as he was in reform, and continually called into service in that relation, he still could hold himself with such steadiness to the proper work of his ministry, and could prosecute it in such a spirit and manner as to secure results like these.

The circumstances which led to Mr. Colver's removal to Boston will be recited in the next chapter. Nor can we dwell longer, here, upon the history of this pastorate at Union Village. It cost the church a severe struggle to surrender him to the larger field to which the Boston call summoned him. "His last communion season with them," says Judge Culver in his interesting notes

to which we are already so much indebted, "was long remembered. The choir sang, at the close of his farewell sermon, the sweet, sympathetic words,

> 'Enemies no more shall trouble,
> All thy wrongs shall be redressed.'

"'With exceeding great desire,' said he, as he broke the bread, 'have I desired to eat this passover with you.' The senior deacon, Comfort Barber, eighty years of age, bade him farewell in behalf of the church. 'Go' said he, 'be faithful there as you have been here; preach there, as you have here, the truth, and the whole truth, and God bless you there, as he has blessed you here.'"

CHAPTER VII.

TREMONT TEMPLE PASTORATE.—1839–1852.

The event mentioned at the close of the last chapter took place in 1839. The year 1838 had been spent by Mr. Colver in the service of the American Antislavery Society, without, however, dissolving his pastoral relations with the church at Union Village. Mr. Colver, while laboring under the appointment of the Society, lectured much of the time in New England. It was at that period of the antislavery agitation when "mob-law" was in full force. A more violent excitation of popular passion in its worst guise is perhaps nowhere recorded in the history of reform. Those principles of toleration, that recognition of the rights of free speech, so vital in American institutions, were for the time almost wholly set aside. Those who should have protected these immunities, were, either themselves

carried away by the passion of the hour, or were unwilling to venture upon meeting with rebuke and repression those outbursts of popular violence, often taking the form of mere brute force, whose aspects were so threatening. If in more cultivated communities the mob was in some degree held at bay, even there the same spirit was manifested in other forms, while in not a few places opposition became riot and vented itself in outrage.

Mr. Colver, during this year of service in the Antislavery cause under appointment of the National Society, had full experience of each form of opposition. We have before us accounts of riotous proceedings in Connecticut, which went so far, in one place, as to end in the blowing up of the Baptist house of worship, there, with gunpowder. The disturbance of a meeting by the inroad of rude fellows of the baser sort, was a common occurrence, and if these satisfied themselves with simply abusing the lecturer or breaking the windows of the house with stones, it was thought fortunate. Mr. Colver bore himself amidst these scenes with characteristic steadiness; always maintaining his dignity, and often quelling riotous proceedings through the mere ascendancy of his strong will and unblenching courage. Such inci-

dents were compensated, at times, by finding himself, as on one occasion at Norwalk, surrounded by his own brethren, who would hear him with attention and candor, and when convinced enroll themselves with the friends of emancipation. In connection with his lectures he formed numerous antislavery societies, leaving thus in many places organized and permanent proofs that his work was not in vain.

It was in the course of these lecturing tours that Mr. Colver became acquainted with the brethren in Boston with whom he was afterwards so closely associated; especially with Timothy Gilbert. "In 1838," writes Dr. J. D. Fulton, "Mr. Colver was in Connecticut lecturing. He had been mobbed and vilified, but he had triumphed gloriously. Flushed with victory, he came to Boston and spoke at the Capitol and at Marlboro Chapel. There Timothy Gilbert saw him. Jonathan had found his David. As in water face answereth to face, so the heart of this man warmed to the heart of Timothy Gilbert, 'the grandest abolitionist in Boston.' He was at this time forty-two years of age. His power of mind was fully developed. He was a bold talker, had a vivid imagination, and called things by their right names.

Timothy Gilbert no sooner saw him, than he beheld a standard-bearer. An agreement was made that if the brethren in Boston would procure a place of worship and organize a church opposed to secret organizations, intemperance and slavery, and in favor of free seats, he would become their pastor."

Letters from Dea. Gilbert, written to Mr. Colver after his return to Greenwich, his engagement with the society having expired, indicate the form which the plans of those brethren to whom Dr. Fulton refers, first assumed. Thus, under date of Sept. 29, 1838, he writes;

> The friends of a Free Baptist Church, not feeling sufficient strength to proceed and form a church, have nearly unanimously agreed to procure preaching for three months, if your services can be had, and in that time they hope to see what strength can be called out, and if sufficient, to then form a church. The hall intended is one opposite the Savings Bank in Tremont Street, which will accommodate from four to five hundred persons, having a high, arched ceiling, and being already seated with settees. We are liable to lose that hall, unless we engage it immediately, it having been occupied on the Sabbath, and only vacated on the last Sabbath. We are very desirous to procure your services for the time mentioned, and hope afterward to be able to form a church with favorable prospects.

The next letter from Dea. Gilbert, dated Oct. 10th, indicates that Mr. Colver had objected to a removal to Boston under the arrangement proposed. He thought that a church should first be organized, and that if he went to Boston at all, he should go, not as a supply, at the mercy of con-

tingencies, but as a pastor. A subsequent visit to that city, Boston, for how long a time does not appear, resulted in so strengthening and uniting the elements of the movement already begun as in the following spring to result in an organization. April 3, 1839, Dea. Gilbert writes:

> I embrace a moment from my multiplied cares to say that last evening our request for a dismission from the Federal Street church was presented, and granted without a dissenting voice. As to the other churches, I have not heard the result, but presume it is the same at Mr. Stow's. We also requested delegates for a council, to meet at our place on Thursday, 18th inst., which was granted. We had before agreed to have the time three weeks from this day, but recollected that that was the week when the Convention would sit in Philadelphia; so we altered to the above time.

The letter speaks of one who "had experienced religion" under Mr. Colver's preaching during his recent visit, and urges this as an encouragement to believe that "the Lord had not left (him) without a seal in Boston." Letters dated May 18th, and June 29th, urge Mr. Colver's speedy settlement as of vital importance to the infant church. To the last of these Mr. Colver replies; "I wrote you last from Newburg, where I was confined to my bed from Tuesday till yesterday, when the doctor permitted me to be dressed, and brought part of the way home. I reached home this morning, just in time to preach, and to my astonishment have been able to do so with great

comfort of mind, though with great labor of body. Since coming home I have learned more definitely the action of the church on my request for a dismission. Everything works most favorably. Though all seem afflicted, yet they have complied with my request, in great kindness and love. They will let me go, with their warmest blessing. I wish you could have been at the meeting to-day, and seen the spirit which prevailed. You would wonder how I could ever leave such a people; and indeed I wonder, myself. One old brother, when he took me by the hand, that morning, wept, while he said, 'Brother Colver, you will never find such friends in Boston as you leave in Greenwich.' Another, when he took my hand, said with a quivering lip, 'It 's dark and hard; but if you must go, God bless you.' "

Mr. Colver entered upon his pastorate in Boston, in the fall of 1839. "He was installed," says Dr. Fulton, "pastor of the Free Baptist Church, which for three months met in a room in Tremont Row, afterwards in Congress Hall, then under the Museum building, corner of Bromfield and Tremont Streets, until the Tremont Temple was dedicated December 7, 1843. The Boston 'Daily Mail,' in speaking of the pastor said, 'Mr. Col-

ver carries a very brier in his hand, and sinners must look out, or they will be touched in tender places. He is no time-server. He preaches for eternity. There is no half-work about him. He cries aloud, and spares not.'

"Look in," adds Dr. Fulton, "on the congregation. It has a wild appearance. Excitement is in the air, slaves have clanked their chains through State Street, and ministers are dumb. Men want vent for their hearts, for thought burns within them. It is popular to denounce such acts, and charge them to Christianity. It is brave to denounce them, and claim for Christianity all that makes them infamous. Mr. Colver is brave; he is true to Christ, and true to man.

"Free seats hinder rather than help him. They exclude a great many who would come, could they sit with their families and enjoy a hymn-book. The pastor, looking over his congregation, might say with Paul, 'For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called.' It is beautiful in theory to have all things in common, not in practice. 'Mine' and 'thine' are facts to which men cling tenaciously. View Mr. Colver's work from the stand-point of a large congregation,

eager to listen, who love the word, and are ready to stand for it, let what will come, and there is no grander place. View it from the other side, see the pittance given for the support of the Gospel by the poor, behold the narrowness that characterizes the small men by whom the majority of the seats are filled, and the man must have the faith of an apostle, if he does not have hours of terrible depression."

The settlement of Mr. Colver over the young church to which he had been called was appropriately signalized by an installation service, held September 15, 1839. The sermon on that occasion was preached by Rev. Baron Stow, other ministers of the city officiating. The first hymn sung was written by the pastor-elect and was as follows:

While the earth is clad in darkness,
And the people grope in night,
Light on Zion shines with brightness,
Christ, the Sun, hath blest her sight:
Darkness fleeth,
God himself is Zion's light.

Hark! thy Saviour saith, awaken!
Fling thy glorious beams afar,
Pierce the rayless shades of midnight
With the bright, the morning star.
Morning breaketh,
Earth shall feel that God is here.

Lo! the Gentiles haste to greet thee;
Kings shall swell thy countless train;
Flowing nations rush to meet thee,
And to hail thy Saviour's reign.
Blessed Jesus!
Let thy kingdom come, Amen.

The Baptist pulpit of Boston at the time Mr. Colver became a pastor in that city was unsurpassed, if even equalled, in the genius, the piety, the culture which adorned it, by that of any city in the land. We may here quote the vivid words of Dr. Fulton, in his spirited "Memoir of Timothy Gilbert." Says Dr. Fulton, "Baldwin Place church was crowded under the ministry of Rev. Baron Stow. Rollin H. Neale, a young man, began his ministry (at the First church) in 1837, and in 1838 there was not a seat to be found in that thronged sanctuary where waiting crowds hung spell-bound, and listened with delight to an oratory which then as now glowed with the love of Christ. Charles Street was at Court End, crowded with the hundreds who admired the courtly Daniel Sharp, whose praise is yet in all the churches; while the hall on Boylston Street, in which Robert Turnbull preached, and the house in Federal Street, in which the eloquent Howard Malcom had ministered, waited with a splendid

congregation to welcome a worthy successor, whom they found in William Hague." If in removing to Boston Mr. Colver had contemplated his ministry there simply as a competition for the prizes of eloquence, and a struggle for popularity, he might well have hesitated to encounter an array such as this. Going thither at God's call, having it for his mission simply to preach that Gospel which is "the power of God unto salvation," he might indeed still feel how much in contrast his public ministry must stand, in point of scholarly finish and attractiveness, with that to which Boston congregations were accustomed, yet could reassure himself in the conviction that it was not necessary that he should deliver his message in "words which man's wisdom teacheth."

He had attained, however, to that which, next to his faith in God, is a minister's encouragement as he goes to meet emergencies. He knew his own power. It was a proof, also, that he had this consciousness of power without its frequent accompaniment of vanity, that he was content, even in cultivated Boston, to be simply himself, making no attempt to imitate those whose more polished ways must often have seemed to him in such strong contrast with his own; satisfied to do his own

work, not theirs, and make the best use possible of the faculties God had given him. There can be no doubt, at the same time, that in many things in which he differed from his brethren he found a means of strong popular impression. If in style and methods of illustration he was often homely, and in his thought and utterance very unlike the scholarly men about him, he was never weak, while these rugged, almost rude elements, fused in the fire of an eloquence which always rose to the level of the occasion, be it what it might, were just so much the more effectual as they were more natural and more evidently spontaneous. How he came to be viewed by those more cultivated men with whom he became associated in his Boston ministry, these words of Dr. Neale will show: "Mr. Colver was in many respects a most remarkable man. Those who knew him when in Boston will agree with me, I am sure, when I say that he was one of our greatest preachers. I have heard him many times, and never without being impressed with his extensive Biblical knowledge, his correct views of Gospel doctrine, his strong thought, and vigorous reasoning power. He must have had an uncommon amount of native talent, a large brain and a still larger heart. His mind

was uncommonly clear, and what was truly wonderful, while he scarcely ever made any immediate preparation for the pulpit, his sermons bore the impress of well digested thought. He did not generally know until Saturday afternoon or evening what he was to preach about the next day, and indeed often selected his text after entering the pulpit; a fact which I could not have believed if I had not heard it from his own lips, for his sermons were unusually methodical. His plan was first to explain the exact meaning of the text, then came 'the doctrine,' which grew naturally out of these preliminary explanations. His arguments were well arranged, appropriate, clear, logical, increasing in weight and interest as he proceeded. There was no rambling, nothing extraneous; there were interspersed, it is true, some queer illustrations and odd anecdotes, but all tending to the elucidation of his subject, and all well received. Then his 'inferences.' Here he laid out all his strength. They were nails fastened by the master of assemblies. The power which had been gathering and increasing in the preceding parts of his discourse, came to a resistless concentration at the close, like the seventh wave of the incoming tide."

It is easy to see how a ministry such as this

would have its own place in Boston, and its own elements of powerful effect. Indeed, it seems quite certain, that just because he was not a typical Boston preacher, he was the more a power. Certain it is that Tremont Temple became, while he filled its pulpit, the center of a peculiar fascination, not only, but of what is much better, an influence in behalf of truth and righteousness in all their forms, which made itself felt in the most exclusive circles of either the social or intellectual life of the city, and indeed went abroad widely over the land, as an inspiration to what was good, a felt rebuke to all that was evil.

Mr. Colver's ministry in Boston had further this marked peculiarity, that while he was a sympathetic and cordial co-laborer with the advocates and promoters of various reforms, he never conceded to their skeptical or disorganizing principles one jot of the truth for which, in his stated ministry, he stood so firmly. "Friends here," writes Dr. Fulton, "love to describe his debate with Henry C. Wright, famed once as an evangelical ally, but who afterwards broke away from the church, and became an open reviler of the word of God. He was a non-resistant, and contended against war in every form. Marlboro Chapel was

packed, almost to suffocation, with a crowd eager to hear him. The champion of infidelity did his best, and was applauded to the echo by his followers. Up rose Nathaniel Colver, then almost an entire stranger. He began in the calmest manner and by argument, by wit, by repartee, so used up his adversary, that the movement was ended in Boston, and even the Philistines became followers of the standard of Israel."

It would seem almost a fault in Mr. Colver that he was so apt to seek out for the purpose of assailing them, those forms which diseased notions upon religion, society and government were wont in those days to assume. Great excitement pervaded the public mind upon questions which, long slumbering, had now sprung up with aspects that startled the nation. At such times opinion and tendency may take shapes even grotesque and ridiculous, and minds predisposed to fanatical and extreme notions will run away with absurdities too silly even to be laughed at. Dr. Neale says: "Chardon Street Chapel I remember was a favorite place for strange gatherings; the advocates of non-resistance, a vegetable diet, of Miller's numbers, 'time and times and half-a-time,' the odds and ends of creation. Father Lamson, Abby Folsom,

and I know not what beside, used to meet there on anniversary occasions for what they called 'free discussion.' I confess I tried to dissuade Mr. Colver from attending those meetings. 'It was not clerical or creditable to be seen in such company.' But he was fond of excitement, and if he had any fault, it was a mischievous propensity to make fun, to ridicule folly and laugh at sham. And though I wished then, and still think it would have been wiser and better in him to have let these things alone, yet it must be conceded that in whatever he undertook, he acted from a sense of duty and did his work effectually. He exposed the absurdity of the no-government theory which was then quite popular, so that it has scarcely been heard of from that time to this. We hear as little too of potatoes and squashes, which were then urged with great earnestness as the only healthful food for man."

It was not surprising that, in these circumstances, the Boston public should come to watch the Temple pastor's proceedings with a curious, as well as a more commendable kind of interest, or that at times he should find himself in consequence of the general impression of his readiness for debate upon all controverted subjects, placed in cir-

cumstances of some embarassment. An instance of this kind may here be given. On a Sabbath in January, 1844, he announced to his congregation that upon the following Lord's-day evening he would preach upon the text, "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers, for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness?" intimating his purpose to give some reasons why members of Christian churches should not connect themselves with Odd-Fellows Lodges. He did not propose any such treatment of the subject as need concern the general public, and probably anticipated awakening only such interest as Christians themselves might feel in a question of personal duty with reference to this subject. The announcement, however, was taken in a sense not meant by himself. A general attack upon Odd-Fellowship was anticipated, and on the evening in question the house was thronged "with one of the greatest crowds," as a daily paper of that date says, "ever collected at any similar discussion in Boston. It was estimated that there were at least three thousand persons in the house and upon the stairway; and that at least an equal number went away without being able to force themselves over

the threshold of the outer door." There was, of course, a good deal of disorder, "the young men in the upper corners climbing over each other's heads and creating no little disturbance."

The appearance of the speaker for the evening seemed to be a signal for increased disorder. Some, evidently, had come resolved upon disturbance, and for a while it almost seemed, in spite of all Mr. Colver's efforts to secure quiet, as if he was not to be permitted to speak. Observing, at length, a well-known Odd-Fellow in the audience, he called him to the platform, and requested him to secure order and to preside. The stratagem succeeded. The Odd-Fellows present found themselves under the presidency of one of their own number and subsided into quiet. Mr. Colver adroitly turned this circumstance to account, in various ways, from time to time appealing to the "chairman" in confirmation of some statement, and while fearless and plain in exposing what he held to be faults of the institution he was assailing, managing to do this without giving occasion for more than brief outbreaks of opposition. In fine, he completely triumphed over the unruly element in the midst of which he had found himself, and won the applause even of enemies for

the mingled good temper and good management he had shown.

This stand taken by Mr. Colver against Odd-Fellowship was no new thing with him; and probably he had already won a reputation, in this regard, which helped materially to pack his place of meeting on the occasion just described. Signs of this appear in the following anonymous communication, received by him nearly a year previous, as it bears date Feb. 28, 1843.

SIR: Your lecture of last Sunday has aroused a spirit in the Order of Odd-Fellows which you will do well to suppress, if you have any regard for your personal safety. Our Order is numerous and powerful, and will not suffer an individual of your standing to expose secrets which you can have become acquainted with only through treachery. The raving of fools we do not notice; but *you* must go no farther. With this warning from a friend, you must abide the consequences of your conduct in this affair.

Necessitas non habet legem.

Yours, &c.,

I. O. O. F.

This attempt at intimidation, of course, resulted as did others of which we have had occasion to speak on previous pages.

Mr. Colver was fortunate and happy, when entering upon his pastorate in Boston, to find himself in association with such a man as Dea. Timothy Gilbert. This earnest man and "true yokefellow," while in full sympathy with his pastor on questions of reform, had consecrated himself to

the enterprise of a Free Baptist Church in Boston with a devotion seldom seen. Says one,* speaking of him in this relation, "he was fully impressed with the importance of there being at least one place of worship in Boston with free seats, where all persons, whether rich or poor, without distinction of color or condition, could take a seat where they pleased, and have the Gospel preached to them in its purity. He felt that such a place was needed in Boston, especially for that large class of floating population of young persons, male and female, who were not regular attendants at any church, but who might be induced to attend if the seats were free." These aims of the chief originator of the enterprise indicate as well the peculiar character impressed upon it from its inception, and to a great degree retained until this hour. Going to Boston as the minister of such a congregation, Mr. Colver needed to find among those associated with him in the work at least one upon whom he could rely for that spirit of enthusiasm which no difficulties should cool, joined with that patient attention to details, for the lack of which so many a hopeful undertaking finds itself swamp-

*Wm. H. Jameson, in "Memoir of Timothy Gilbert."

ed in embarrassments. That which the pastor, engrossed with other cares, could not do, this helper of his joy voluntarily assumed, and to all the minutiæ of provision for both pastor and flock gave constant and unwearied attention.

In due time, the question of a suitable place of worship required to be considered and decided. From Julian Hall, at the corner of Milk and Congress Streets, the congregation after about one year removed to the Museum building, at the corner of Tremont and Bromfield Streets. Dr. Fulton describes graphically the circumstances under which Dea. Gilbert's attention was first directed to the building subsequently purchased and thenceforward occupied as the place of meeting till the close of Mr. Colver's pastorate. Speaking of Dea. Gilbert, Dr. Fulton says; "It was his custom — so he relates — frequently to go out at night in the hope of resting a weary brain and giving loose rein to his desires and longings for a free house of worship into which he might welcome the poor. At these times he would take long walks through the deserted streets. On one of these occasions, while oppressed and burdened with the condition of the young mechanics and apprentices, and also of the great crowd of strang-

ers without a Sabbath home, he was walking down School street, having just passed Tremont Theatre, when, suddenly impressed with the mission of such an establishment as Tremont Temple contemplates, he stopped, and retraced his steps, and stood in the front of the old theatre. It was the noon of night. The bells were striking. The streets were silent. He bowed his head and took his vow, offering a prayer for guidance."

Upon making inquiries soon after he found that the property was for sale, and that it could be bought for fifty-five thousand dollars. The result was a purchase of the Theatre and its adaptation, by changing the interior, to its new uses. Mr. Jameson mentions a circumstance which to those for whom success in this particular was so vital, ever after seemed strikingly providential. Some difficulties arising in Mr. Gilbert's way, a delay occurred, and when these were removed, he met, greatly to his surprise and disappointment, in the morning paper, on the day when he had proposed to call upon the Corporation and close the purchase, with the statement that the property had already been sold to the Massachusetts Mechanics' Charitable Association. Says Mr. Jameson; "His disappointment was extreme, that after all his labors

and anxiety, God had seemed again to block his way to success. I suggested to him that possibly the report in the papers might not be true, and at his request I went immediately to see the Treasurer of the Theatre Corporation, who informed me that a bargain *had* been made with the Mechanics' Association, and he had considered it settled, but that the previous afternoon, when he met the representatives of the Association to pass the papers, he found there was a misunderstanding, the the Mechanics' Association claiming that the chandelier and gas-fixtures were to be included in the purchase, while the Theatre Corporation insisted that they were not to be included, and that this small matter only had prevented the consummation of the sale. He said he had no doubt the Association would, upon reflection, yield their claims to the gas-fixtures, but that he was *now* at liberty to make the sale to any one else. I returned at once, and informed Mr. Gilbert, and we immediately went with Messrs. Shipley, Gould, Darwell, and, I think, Deacon Clement Drew, and had the papers drawn up and signed, made the required payment, and consummated the purchase that day."

In the changes made upon the building, the

lower portion of it, fronting the street, was used for stores and other places of business, the income from the rents being devoted to current expenses and repairs, and the surplus to objects of benevolence. In this building, with an audience-room sufficient to seat some twenty-five hundred persons, Mr. Colver continued to minister during some ten years, greatly and richly blessed therein. His congregation had during the year 1840 shared in the gracious and wonderful work in Boston under the preaching of Rev. Jacob Knapp. In that year there were added to the church by baptism and letter ninety; in 1841, thirty; in 1842, one hundred and thirty-six. Thus, at the time when, in 1843, the church entered its new house of worship, above two hundred and fifty had already become connected with it, making of all who had joined it, including its constituent membership of eighty-two, three hundred and thirty-eight.

We must be allowed to give one letter here illustrating the closeness of the relation existing between Mr. Colver and his efficient fellow-laborer and true friend, Dea. Gilbert. It was written from New York, under date of Oct. 26, 1843. The tenor of the first part of it fully indicates that the

enterprise of which we have been speaking was not carried finally through without severe pecuniary struggles. The letter is as follows:

DEAR BRO. GILBERT: I am perfectly discouraged in my effort to collect money for our house. I doubt whether I get one dollar in New York. I returned from Philadelphia last Tuesday, having spent Monday there endeavoring to get something from those who had before given me encouragement, but got nothing. Since Tuesday, I have labored faithfully in New York, but have not got a dollar. I should have started for home on Friday, but thinking, of course, when I came, that I should spend the week here, I had engaged to preach at the Tabernacle, and it was advertised in the papers, and I could not get off. Brother Colgate says his hands are full with *his own free church*, and he can give us nothing. I have called on the pastors; they are very kind to introduce me to their giving men, but the churches are deeply in debt in this city. I learned, to-day, that they are paying interest on one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and not a dollar can I get. Some of them have been to Albany for assistance, but could get none, the churches there being greatly embarrassed with their own debts. I have no hope of success there or here. I intend to come home next week. I shall come through Albany, and try.

I feel bad. I fear that personal unworthiness in the sight of God prevents my success in a cause which I know to be good What shall we do? I fear a burden will fall upon you too heavy to be borne, but, though I can get nothing by begging of men, I will yet beg the Lord to sustain you, and open up the way before you. His past providences in the matter surely indicate his pleasure that the enterprise should be carried through.

It may not be amiss, or entirely uninteresting, for me to mention that through mercy I have succeeded at last in overcoming my propensity to use tobacco. Some weeks before I left, I adopted a pledge never again to use tobacco in any way or on any account whatever. Since then, the temptation has lost its power. I have only to reply to the suggestions of temptation that it is *finally* settled *and is no longer a matter to be taken under consideration*, and

the tempter retires. I feel thankful for the attainment, but regret that I have been so tardy in coming to it. It has cost me much pain, and sometimes deep solicitude. I have at times been oppressed with the fear that conquest was impossible. Nor has a conciousness that I was giving anxiety and pain to you, while you were ready to make any sacrifice or endure any toil for the cause of our precious Redeemer, failed to afflict me. Will you pardon me, pray for me, and as God gives me grace, I will never afflict you again.

It was not until Dec. 7, 1843, that Tremont Temple in its changed form was finally dedicated to the worship of God. The sermon on the occasion was by the pastor, and his text in John, xii, 31, 32. The dedicatory prayer was by Dr. Hague; Drs. Neale, Caldicott and Choules participating in other parts of the service. As we have, on another page, given the hymn written by Mr. Colver for the service of his installation, we will here give that which, written also by himself, was sung upon the occasion now noticed:

Great God, before thy reverend name,
  Within these ransomed walls we bow;
Too long abused by sin and shame,
  To thee we consecrate them now.

Satan has here held empire long,
  A blighting curse, a cruel reign,
By mimic scenes, and mirth, and song
  Alluring souls to endless pain.

Fiction no more! God's truth at last,
  Shall here portray eternal scenes;
The Gospel peal, the battle blast,
  Or charm with Calvary's gentler strains.

Here set thy feet, Oh ! Zion's King,
And send thy victories all abroad ;
Blest Dove, distil from balmy wing
The dew of life, the grace of God.

Then let the glorious war go on,
The banner of the cross unfurled ;
Soon the last triumph shall be won,
And Christ possess a ransomed world.

We attempt here only the merest outline of this Boston pastorate. It was, without doubt, the best period of Mr. Colver's life. His powers were in their full vigor, while the work in which he was engaged afforded them ample scope. Collisions were not wanting, it is true ; detraction did not cease from its dastardly work. The tempestuous controversies of the hour often disturbed the quiet of his pastorate. There were alienations which grieved him, faults in himself which gave him pain, "perils from false brethren," which were worse than all; but the thirteen years of his life and labor in Boston were, nevertheless, filled full with occasions of thankfulness and ever after recalled with that thrill of emotion with which one looks back upon a period stormy with conflict, but glorious with victory. His house, his heart, and his church were a home for the stranger. More than one forsaken orphan's heart was made

glad for him, many a poor and timid young brother encouraged to persevere in his efforts to press on in the great work of the ministry, while to his preaching visitors from near and far flocked as one of the great attractions of what was then, and is still, the most fascinating city in America. How these visitors were often impressed is illustrated in the fact that a Baptist minister of distinction from some Southern state visiting Boston at that time, took occasion to hear Mr. Colver. Inquired of how he liked him, his reply was, "I abhor the man's abolitionism, but he is the best preacher I have heard in Boston."

Purposely, we have in this chapter limited ourselves, mainly, to Mr. Colver's relation and work as a pastor, reserving for the two following chapters his connection with the antislavery movement, with some glances at the history of that movement itself.

CHAPTER VIII.

ANTISLAVERY.

The period embraced by the two dates, 1838 and 1850, was that of Mr. Colver's greatest activity in the antislavery cause. It was also the most momentous period in the progress of that cause itself. Subsequently to 1850, perhaps, the agitation became more exclusively a political one, being made to a greater degree than had before been the case a leading issue in party contests and national legislation. Previous to this, however, the discussion as it went on before the country dealt with those radical and fundamental principles, the settlement of which was a condition so essential to the great results finally reached, while in the tremendous excitements so caused, every institution of either Church or State was summoned to ordeals that tested it alike in its foundation and in its structure. It was a time of trial for religious

men, equally as for politicians and statesmen. Not only was it found necessary to study afresh the teachings of Scripture upon fundamental principles of human relations, while various practical questions as regards the mission and work of Christians required to be met under new and difficult conditions, but the relations of brethren with each other were necessarily disturbed, so that the bond of Christian fellowship was often strained to the utmost point of endurance. In churches, in missionary societies, in the various spheres of denominational or ministerial intercourse, this agitating question was omnipresent. Viewed as it was under the influence of diverse prepossessions, some political, some social, some religious, charged with practical difficulties, while also abounding in theoretical ones, involving alike the Christian conscience and the national well-being, with personal interests and prejudices manifold and sensitive, it carried disturbance wherever it went, constituting for the whole American people a great and momentous ordeal.

Mr. Colver's position as pastor of the Tremont Street church in Boston, placed him at the very heart of the agitation. For Boston deserves, more than any other city in the Union, to be regarded

as the center of those movements in this country, intellectual or social, which affect radically questions of human rights and human relations. Mr. Colver, as we have seen, was called thither by a group of Baptist Christians, some of whom were already conspicuously before the public as antislavery men, and was made pastor of a church which in proportion as it grew in strength became more and more marked and prominent among the friends of the slave. He was brought both in virtue of these circumstances, and also by his known zeal and ability, and by what was already on record of services to the cause, into close association with antislavery leaders, and was speedily recognized as "not a whit behind the very chiefest" among the apostles of universal freedom. His position, too, as a Boston pastor, placed him face to face with questions relating to the management of missionary societies, and made it almost a matter of necessity that in the public discussion and the final settlement of these he should actively share. From all these circumstances it resulted that during the period of which we speak scarcely any name was more often before the public in this connection than that of Nathaniel Colver; we might almost say that no personality was

more distinctly felt in urging on the movement in this sphere of reform than was his.

Recurring to the time of which we speak, one can now review the topics then in agitation and the events then transpiring, with something of the historical spirit. By what has since taken place the matters then so exciting have been thrown, one might say, far into the past. We look at them now from a point of view so changed, that we can scarcely realize that these were scenes once passing under our own eye, or that in the agitating interest they created we ourselves once shared. It is, however, quite easy to see of what radical moment the topics then current were, and with what strength of tendency and influence they laid hold of the very pillars of both Church and State. Among the current records of that time, perhaps no other will better condense these topics, or indicate better the field of controversy occupied, than the resolutions upon the right of petition introduced into the lower house of Congress, in the session of 1838, by Mr. Atherton of New Hampshire. They were as follows:

Resolved. That this Government is of limited powers, and that by the Constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the institution of slavery in the several states of the confederacy.

Resolved. That petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories of the United States, and against the removal of slaves from one state to another, are a part of a plan of operations set on foot to affect the institution of slavery in the several states, and thus indirectly to destroy that institution within their several limits.

Resolved. That Congress has no right to do that indirectly which it cannot do directly, and that the agitation of the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories, as a means or with the view of disturbing or overthrowing that institution in the several states, is against the true spirit and meaning of the Constitution, an infringement of the rights of the states affected, and a breach of the public faith on which they entered into the confederacy.

Resolved. That the Constitution rests upon the broad principles of equality among the members of this confederacy, and that Congress, in the exercise of its acknowledged powers, has no right to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the States and another, with the view of abolishing the one or promoting the other.

Resolved, therefore. That all attempt on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, or the Territories, or to prohibit the removal of slaves from State to State, or to discriminate between the constitutions of one portion of the confederacy and another, with the views aforesaid, are in violation of the constitutional principles on which the union of these States rests, and beyond the jurisdiction of Congress; and that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition on paper, touching or relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to slavery as aforesaid, or the abolition thereof, shall on presentation thereof, without any further action thereon, be laid on the table without printing, reading, debate or reference.

It is doubtful if the history of legislation affords a more significant example of high-handed and despotic interference with the rights of a free people and of their representatives than is seen in these resolutions, and one reads with amazement the record which shows that they passed the House with a vote of 127 to 78. It is a curious illustration, however, of the state of opinion at

the time, that Mr. Wise, of Virginia, then and afterwards noted as one of the most zealous defenders of slavery, so far from sympathizing with those who conceived this "gag-law," as it was called in phraseology then current, strongly opposed it. In the debate upon the resolutions he declared that they did not represent the sentiments of the South. At one point in his remarks, he said, "I contend that there shall be no censor in this house over the free, unfettered movements of the human mind. You might as well attempt to fetter flame with bands of flax as to fetter the free, immortal mind." The event proved that the sentiment thus expressed was eminently just. The minority in Congress were men who valued too highly the rights of free speech to submit to such absolutism on the part of the majority. A time came when, led by the "old man eloquent," John Quincy Adams, they succeeded in opening the doors of Congress once more to the right of petition, and secured to antislavery opinion the same privileges as every other to a representation. It required, however, the sustained effort of eight years, from 1838 to 1846, to bring this result to pass upon the floor of either house. We need not say with what vigorous blows this measure of Congress was as-

sailed by Mr. Colver. Every element of his stalwart manhood was roused to resent the attempt to bind a whole people in the person of their legislators. He recognized in it the same spirit which he himself was from time to time encountering in the mobs and riots, as well as the bitter denunciations through the press, by which he and his fellow-laborers were assailed in the strange hope of intimidation. He felt, and rightly, that the battle was not simply in the interests of the enslaved colored race, but in those also of the whole American people.

Upon other characteristic political incidents of the time we must not dwell. They were watched by the antislavery leaders with keen vigilance, and we see them always on the alert to meet the "slave power" at every point of its aggressions, and to make the most of those damaging inferences as to the character of the system, afforded by its bold and unprincipled attempts to pervert to its own use the sanctions of organic law equally as the impulses of sectional prejudice. They did not miss the text furnished them in such incidents as that of the ignominious expulsion of Judge Hoar from the commonwealth of South Carolina, whither he had been sent by the Governor of Mas-

sachusetts as a commissioner to test the legality of the imprisonment of certain colored citizens of Massachusetts in South Carolina jails; or that of the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, by which it was sought to convert every American citizen into a slave-catcher; or those frequent occasions on which, both in the North and in the South, the spirit of violence, with manifestations often perfectly diabolical, burst out against those who bore the hated name of "abolitionist." In these things were seen the madness of the hour. If the zeal of those who denounced them sometimes passed the limit of discretion, it was a venial fault. If the hot words of indignant champions of freedom fed the the flame of general agitation, and contributed to hasten the impending conflagration, it will be great injustice to censure them on this account as mere fire-brands. A national evil of such magnitude and such strength, was not to be abolished by mild means alone. If conservatism had its mission in those trying times, so likewise had radicalism; and we shall judge either men or events fairly only as we recognize both radicalism and conservatism as instruments of the gracious providence, whose purposes were then ripening faster than any one dared to hope.

While Mr. Colver, in his advocacy of anti-slavery views, kept himself fully abreast with these incidents of the time, and clearly saw and forcibly exhibited their significance, it is chiefly as a Christian, and as a minister, that we find him dealing with this great question. In the ministry and in the churches, that view of the subject of human slavery which chiefly commanded attention, was that which regarded it in the light of Scripture. Does the Bible sanction slavery? Are the references to this subject, whether in the Old Testament or the New, such as to suggest that the relationship of master and slave has a divine recognition and a divine approval, either express or implied? With this question was associated another: What is the moral character of that act in which one human being holds another in slavery, claims him as property, buys him, sells him, uses his labor without requital, and as a protection to himself in seeking to perpetuate that relation, shuts from the slave's mind, wholly or partially, the light of knowledge? Many were prepared to admit the *evil* of slavery—its mischievous tendencies, in every way—who would not acknowledge it to be *a sin*. Mr. Colver, from the time he first stood face to face with the institution, at Rich-

mond and Washington, down to the latest moment of his life, took the radical view of both these pregnant questions. We shall not discuss them here. They belong, now, rather to history than to contemporary interests, and should at present be treated only from the historical point of view. We are concerned here only with the ground assumed by Mr. Colver, and the reasoning by which he maintained himself there.

One of those notable occasions on which the discussion of these subjects assumed a form specially characteristic and significant, was that of a session of the American Baptist Antislavery Society, held in Tremont Chapel, Boston, May 26-28, 1841. Of the organization of the Baptist Antislavery Convention, the occasion and history of it, we shall speak further on. We allude, in this place, to the session now mentioned only as it affords us the opportunity to illustrate the method of antislavery men, and expecially that of Mr. Colver, in dealing with topics of the kind in question. The following resolution, introduced by Mr. Colver, furnished the theme for the discussion that followed:

Resolved. That the system of American slavery, in its essential principles, has no analogy in the servitude tolerated in the Bible;

but that, in its origin and continuance, it is defined in the law of man-stealing, and, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended, it is a sin against God.

The President of the Convention, Rev. Elon Galusha, was in the chair. Among those present was Rev. Jonathan Davis, pastor of the Bethel Baptist Church, Georgia. In opening the discussion upon the subject of the resolution, Mr. Colver said:

I shall feel the more pleasure in communicating my views upon this subject at this time, as I see (and I am happy to see) one of the most respected slave-holding brethren with us on the present occasion. I allude to the Rev. Mr. Davis, of Georgia,— for although I may not have the pleasure of reckoning him a convert to my argument, yet, sir, I may hope that, in the communications to which he may listen, he may be convinced that, abolitionists as we are, we have not forgotten the laws of Christian courtesy and brotherly kindness, and that our opposition to slavery has its origin in love, and not hate, in our hearts, and not in our imaginations, and in our judgment, not in our passions. I may venture to hope, sir, that the spirit he shall witness, and the reception he shall meet from the brethren assembled on this occasion, may dispossess him of the delicate feelings of a stranger, and enable him, with the freedom of a brother, to take part with us in our consultations on this deeply interesting subject.

We may add that to this courteous invitation Mr. Davis responded, addressing the Convention in reply to Mr. Colver, at much length, both upon this and upon following days, enjoying the protection of Christian courtesy in the fullest expression of his views. In his further introductory remarks, Mr. Colver explained the motive for bringing forward the resolution. He said:

At the recent Triennial Convention at Baltimore, in a private conference between leading Northern members of the Board and Southern slaveholders, an article was drawn up and signed by them, and subsequently by many others, charging us with introducing thereby a test of communion, and condemning us for so doing. This document, connected as it was with the previous demands of the South, that as a condition of their future co-operation, the members of the Board should, either in their official or "individual" capacity, repudiate the refusal of the abolishtionists to commune with slaveholders, and connected as it was with an "understanding" in said conference, that those brethren who fell under the censure of the document should be left off the new Board about to be elected, and also with the subsequent action of the Convention, in the rejection of the abolitionists from the Board, has involved the missionary organization in this controversy. Its influence is directly interposed to check the free action of the churches on the subject. Slavery has a spirit, and that spirit stops not at the subjugation of the helpless captive to its domination, but claims to wield our benevolent associations as instruments of its power, to cripple the energies of the churches, to chain its abominations to their communion, and to secure for itself a quiet retreat under the folds of the Church of God.

These remarks make clear the position of the more advanced antislavery men among the Baptists at the time of which we write. Satisfied that the holding of human beings as slaves is a sin, and acting upon the apostolic injunction not to "suffer sin upon a brother," these brethren believed it their duty to express their disapprobation of the sin against which they protested by withdrawing fellowship from those who justified themselves in it. This led to the proceedings at Baltimore, of which Mr. Colver speaks. Assembled now in Convention on the occasion we are describing, the antislavery men were declaring to the

world the reasons which influenced them in their course. The point involved was the teaching of Scripture as to the real character of slavery, and to this point the discussion was directed throughout. We cannot give the whole argument, but may quote from Mr. Colver's first speech the following passage as containing the main points:

Our opponents in attempting to justify slavery from the Bible, in all the passages they quote, whether from the Old Testament or the New, in order to give them any force, are under the necessity of taking for granted the very question in dispute. No man doubts that the Old Testament authorized and the New Testament sanctions the relation of master and servant. The question is, did that law authorize the reduction of men to, and the holding of men as, *chattels*, subject absolutely to property contingencies? Were the Jewish servants not *merely bond-men*, were they CHATTELS? Were they refused to be reckoned among sentient beings, but as things? Before the advocates of slavery can gain our confidence, they must fairly meet this point. The *onus probandi* is on them—they must give us proof, both *relevant* and *positive*.

In the absence of all careful discrimination we are often referred with much confidence to Leviticus xxv, 44-46. You can read it at your leisure. I will only notice the points which are relied upon in this controversy. And what does this passage prove? "Why," says the objector, "that God authorized men to *buy* men." Very well, but that does not prove that when they were bought they were the *chattels personal* of those who bought them. Jacob bought his wives but they were not his *chattels*. Were I able, I would buy all the slaves of the South, to-day, but I would not hold a slave for the world. I would buy them out of chattelship into manhood. "But," says the objector, "they bought them to be their 'bondmen.'" Very well, but are you sure that a bondman was a chattel? Keep the question in view. The English word, "bondman," when and where the Bible was translated, signified an apprentice, but an apprentice is not a chattel. And if you go to the original you will get no help. There is no Hebrew or Greek word there, which answers to the English word *bond*. Both the Hebrew *ebed*, and the Greek *doulos*, simply signify an actor—one who *acts* or *serves*,—and are often applied to God, to angels, to kings, to prophets, and to men in all conditions; but of

the character or rank of the actor, it proves nothing. I need not stop to give you instances, the Bible is full of them. You have no evidence, then, in the word, that the bondman was a chattel.

The objector urges again, "but it proves that the children of strangers in their midst, and of the heathen round about them whom they should buy, should be a *possession*, an *inheritance* for themselves and their children forever." Very well; "God is the *inheritance* of his saints," but he is not their chattel. "Children are an *heritage*," but they are not chattels. The Israelites had the Land of Goshen for a possession, but they did not own it. There is nothing in these terms to prove that the bondmen were chattels; indeed, with their regulations in this case, they prove the reverse. The power of sale is indispensable to *property*, *ownership*, but the Jew could not sell his bondman. Possession may, for its continuance or relinquishment, be subject to the will of him who has put the possesssor in trust, and so in this case. The Jew could not relinquish the possession of his bondman at pleasure, he was bound by law to fulfill the stipulated guardianship, and if he died, his son must step into his place and fulfill it for him, and so on till the year of jubilee gave to the servant the reward of his apprenticeship, viz., full citizenship in Israel. The master could neither sell him nor transfer him; while, on the other hand, the servant was only bound by his own interest. He could leave his master when he chose, and the law forbade his being restored to his master, and provided for his dwelling in any of their gates whenever he chose, only he must dwell as a stranger. By escaping he failed to become a citizen. Nothing is here said indicating the chattel principle.

That while the Bible does not sanction slavery it condemns it, was argued from the fact that slavery as existing in modern times has its root in what God's law has most pointedly condemned, denouncing against it capital penalties. This law Mr. Colver quoted from Exodus, xxi, 16: "And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." "The case stands thus," so he argued, "God is the legitimate owner of every man. God

has constituted every man the guardian of himself, as a moral being, subject to his laws, with guardian responsibilities as deathless as his being. As a guardian over himself, it is not among his functions to relinquish his charge to the absolute will of another. Whoever, therefore, takes him from himself and subjects him to the will of another, steals him from the guardian with whom God has entrusted him, and he that does that, steals him from God, and, need I add, involves himself in the sin specified in the law under consideration." It was insisted that slavery, as it existed in these American States, originating in cruel kidnapping, with every conceivable element of enormity, acquired hence a character which must always cling to it; a character, too, which brought upon it the condemnation of divine law, and made it necessarily a sin.

Such was the form of the argument. Mr. Davis replied at length, maintaining the view held by Southern Christians that the relation as it existed amongst them did not differ, radically from the relation of master and servant as sanctioned in the Bible, and claiming that those then holding slaves, having received them by inheritance, with all the responsibilities attached, should not be made

accountable for the circumstances under which the black man was first brought to American shores. Replying to Mr. Davis, Mr. Colver, offered some general observations upon the law in Leviticus xxv, 46, which we may quote in further illustration of his method of reasoning:

First, that law made no distinction of color. The slave law *is predicated upon color*. Now, if that law ordained slavery, and the brother will have it for his warrant, let him take it as it is. Let the whites, as well as the blacks, come in for a share of its kind provisions. If you are warranted by that law to buy, hold and sell black slaves, you have in it an equal warrant to treat whites in the same manner. I put it to the brother if, according to his interpretation of that law, he would not be warranted to buy and hold as slaves any foreign white persons who might be brought to the shores of Georgia by a pirate vessel which had captured them? * * By what jesuitism is that law by Southern application restricted to colored men? Will the brother answer this?

Again: that law authorized *the commencement* as well as the *continuance* of the system. Was it like Southern slavery? Does the brother think it was? Then why would he not commence it Sir would he "lose his right arm from his body sooner" than do what the law which he quotes as his defence authorized to be done? To *continue* to hold under his supposed sanction of that law he is willing, but to *commence*, what by his interpretation that law authorized to be commenced, why sir, he would "sooner lose his right arm from his body"

But again it was optional with the bondman under that law, whether he continued in his condition a single day: "And it shall be if he say unto thee, I will not go away from thee: because he loveth thee and thy house, because he is well with thee," etc. (Deut. xv 16 xxiii, 15, 16.) Sir, if the South will incorporate this saving clause into the slave-code, I will cease to trouble them on the subject. If the brother will give his slaves the benefit of it, I will no longer debar him from my communion.

One or two incidents of the discussion may be noticed as characteristic. At one point in the debate Mr. Davis said:

"Elder Colver has said that he will relieve me of my troubles about this property so that I may not continue in my guilt. Now I ask Elder Colver if, in addition to that, he will pay me for my slaves, and provide for them. I ask him if he will take them away to New England and raise them from their condition of slavery, and carry out this matter as he should"

To this Mr. Colver replied: "I will answer the brother's inquiry by saying that I will relieve him of all his slaves if he will pay them back their hard-earned wages."

Mr. Davis answered, "I admire the shrewdness of the reply; but honesty requires that I should be paid the full price for having kept them so long. Perhaps, after all, this keeping is not so profitable as is supposed. If you take them, you must take them as they are."

"I will take them on those terms," said Mr. Colver, "If you will deduct the extravagant expenses you have obliged them to meet while supporting you and themselves."

Mr. Colver had used one of his quaint illustrations in replying to the objection that the two races, if the blacks were emancipated, could not dwell together; he said:

Sir, I am reminded of an anecdote which presents the justice of the matter. A man had two horses, a grey one and a black one. His son said, "Father, the grey horse kicks the black one and won't stand peaceably with him in the stable. Shall I turn Black out?" "No said the old man, "if Grey won't let Black alone, turn Grey out into the storm;" and justice says, amen.

After the colloquy noticed above, Mr. Davis said, "Let me pass now to notice the story of the black and grey horse. It appears they were fighting."

"No," said Mr. Colver, "not fighting. Old Grey was kicking Black."

"Well," answered Mr. Davis, "have it so, then. The grey horse, it seems, would kick the hardest, and so he would have him turned out into the storm. Now I will give a different version. If the grey horse (I had rather call him white) does so, and you leave Black in the stable, I warn you to take care how you help turn out White into the storm."

This intimation of possible collisions more serious in their character than debates upon principles, might seem almost prophetic, if it had foreshadowed with more accuracy the real character of such collisions when at last they came. Mr. Davis, in this debate, manifested excellent temper and proved himself a foeman not unworthy the steel of the champion he had encountered. He

was a man of limited culture but decided ability as a disputant. Probably the cause of the South was by him as creditably represented as it could have been by any one, and it is a pleasure to add that he was heard patiently and answered courteously, throughout. He lost something, however, in the good opinion of the audience, by withdrawing abruptly at the close of his second speech, and without waiting to hear Mr. Colver's reply.

We may add, from the pen of Dr. Neale,* the graphic account of a similar occasion, antecedent, it would seem, to that of which we have been speaking:

> Abolitionism in Boston was then unpopular. Merchants and lawyers, ministers and church-members, I am sorry to say, who had respect to their standing in society, stood aloof from a question which was considered low and vulgar. Mr. Davis had come to attend the May anniversaries, and was welcomed as an honored guest in the most respectable circles. Being naturally a kind man, and understanding that some few "good folks," he said in Boston had got some strange notions in their heads on the subject of slavery, he proposed to meet them and explain the position of his Southern brethren on this subject. The meeting was held in a large hall occupied by Mr. Colver's church, before their removal to Tremont Temple. The hall was crowded to its utmost capacity. Ministers and people of all denominations, from the city and country, were present. Mr. Davis spoke with great confidence and with no little talent, and evidently had the outward respect, if not the full sympathy of the audience. Mr. Colver sat in the crowd silent but with a keen and sparkling eye, and an ill-concealed movement of limb and working of muscle, like a war-steed impatient for battle. He was then comparatively unknown. He had but recently come to this city. He was not very refined in air or manner, and, as was his habit, had made no preparation

*In the Boston "*Christian Era*."

whatever for the occasion. But when Mr. Davis had finished his address he rose at once to reply. That reply I do not exaggerate when I say, was one of the greatest intellectual and rhetorical efforts I ever listened to. He proceeded deliberately from point to point, omitting nothing, forgetting nothing, meeting argument with argument, fact with fact, anecdote with anecdote, all the while firm, manly, good-natured, and surpassingly eloquent. The audience were alternately melted to tears and convulsed with laughter. Before he closed he had them all with him, not excepting Mr. Davis himself. "Give us your hand," he said to Mr. Colver, "I believe you are an honest man;" but said nothing about continuing the debate.

We have dwelt more at length upon the occasion we have been describing, because in some respects it may be taken as a representative one. In the extracts given from Mr. Colver's speeches, our purpose has of course been, not to re-open questions now perhaps finally closed, but to illustrate the form then assumed by the momentous matters in agitation, and Mr. Colver's method in dealing with them. It should be noticed here, and the tenor of these extracts will confirm the statement, that Mr. Colver in his reasoning dealt rather with principles than with men. When his language seemed severe it was in speaking rather of the system which to him was so rank in every kind of evil, than of those who came forward as its champions. At one point in the same debate he said, alluding to Mr. Davis, "If my brother thinks that the refusal of Abolitionists to receive slave-holders to their commu-

nion results from unkind feelings toward them, he is mistaken — entirely mistaken. Judging as we do, to hold a man as a chattel is a sin, and a sin of no ordinary magnitude, we should be recreant to the great Head of the Church to do otherwise than as we do * * Sir, I love the slaveholder and the slave, they are alike my brother men, and God commands me to love them with an impartial love; but I love the wrongs of neither, and I cannot have fellowship with the oppressor of his brother man, however much I may love him."

Mr. Colver's active service in the antislavery cause brought him, as we have said, into intimate association with leading advocates of that cause, among them the Amesbury poet, John G. Whittier. He once visited Mr. Whittier at his home, in Amesbury, and greatly enjoyed the opportunity of closer intercourse with a spirit so intensely devoted to all the interests of humanity, and in whom such rare genius was united to such simplicity and gentleness. Mr. Whittier invited him to attend the Quaker meeting with which he himself was connected. To this Mr. Colver readily agreed. Mr. Whittier said, "If thou dost, thou must keep silence, and not speak. A man named

Beach is now in prison for speaking in their meeting. Thou art solemnly warned."

"It was a silent meeting," said Mr. Colver afterwards, "one man got asleep, and so did I."

Upon their return Mr. Whittier inquired of his guest, "Well, Friend Colver, how didst thou like the Quaker meeting?"

Mr. Colver, who had his answer in readiness, replied as follows:

Well, John, since thou a Quaker art,
Go to, I 'll tell thee all my heart.
Quite plain, but neat, the place I found:
A solemn stillness reigned around.
I took a seat, and down I sat,
And gazed upon a Quaker hat,
While all around, in solemn mood,
I ween were thinking something good.
But I still eyed that Quaker hat;—
The crown was low, the brim was flat.
It canopied a noble pate
Who still in solemn silence sate.
I thought him thinking of his God,
When lo! the hat began to nod!
The Spirit moved to use my speech:
I should, but then I thought of *Beach*,
I longed his drowsy soul to waken,
But thought it best to save my bacon;
And — would you think me such a chap? —
I gave it up and took a nap!

In 1840, April 29–30, in the city of New York, the American Baptist Antislavery Convention was

organized, and held its first session. Rev. Elon Galusha was elected its President, Rev. Nathaniel Colver, Chairman of Executive Committee, Rev. C. P. Grosvenor Secretary. Among the measures of the Convention was the opening of a correspondence with brethren in the South, in the form of carefully prepared letters, which were printed in a bi-monthly periodical, in the tract form, entitled the "Baptist Antislavery Correspondent," and published at Worcester, Mass. One of these letters, written by Rev. Elon Galusha and addressed to Rev. Richard Fuller, then of Beaufort, S. C. excited great attention. Others were more general in their address, but similar in substance and spirit. One who has been accustomed to hear much, as many have, of the violence of abolitionists in those exciting times, and to judge of them purely upon this testimony, would we imagine read this correspondence with some surprise. He would find that these men who declined to fellowship in the communion their brethren who held slaves, accounted them brethren none the less, and observed in addressing them all the laws of fraternal intercourse. He would see that this disavowal of fellowship expressed no hostility, but was rather the course to which as antislavery men they felt

themselves driven by the logical result of their antislavery principles. They speak of the institution with unsparing severity; but they come to its supporters, brethren in their judgment misled and greatly erring, but brethren still — not with a rod but in love. More than any other, perhaps, Mr. Colver was the guiding spirit of this Convention, and we clearly see traces of his mind and heart in the correspondence of which we speak. Other measures of the Convention we shall have occasion to notice in another place.

In June of the year last named, 1840, Mr. Colver sailed for England as a delegate from the Convention, and from the Massachusetts Abolition Society to the World's Antislavery Convention in London. He was accompanied by Mr. Galusha, representing also the Baptist Convention and the American and Foreign Antislavery Society, also by Mr. Grosvenor. Among the other Americans present, were William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Taking an active part in the Convention were Clarkson, Joseph Sturge, Daniel O'Connell, Lord Brougham, Guizot, the French statesman, with various members of the English nobility, including Prince Albert. Mr. Colver has spoken frequently of the embarassment he felt in

his association with men so conspicuous both for genius and for culture, while himself so almost without any of the helps of scholarly training. Early in the sessions of the Convention at Exeter Hall, he was called out, and compelled to speak absolutely without premeditation. It was for him, as it would be for any man in such circumstances, a trying occasion. In precisely these circumstances, however, his happiest efforts were often made. His speech produced a marked effect; he was publicly and warmly congratulated on account of it, and in the remaining proceedings was one of the recognized men. One point he succeeded in carrying with nearly the whole British part of the Convention in opposition; a point relating to communion with slaveholders. The resolutions introduced upon this subject asserted broadly that a slaveholder could not be a Christian. Mr. Colver opposed this, and succeeded in having it materially modified and softened. Returning from this Convention to Boston, after a stay of some six months in England, he and Mr. Galusha were welcomed in a public meeting held in that city, in which the value of their services was emphatically recognized.

Additional to improvement of health, which had again become much impaired, Mr. Colver experi-

enced keen gratification in visiting points in England made memorable by events in our denominational history, and in making valued acquaintances among distinguished men. He found a cordial welcome to English pulpits, and on returning to this country left behind him, especially in Birmingham, traces of his power in "handling the word of God" which long years after still survived in the heart and memory, and enlarged experience of those who heard him.

To this European visit we shall have occasion to allude again.

CHAPTER IX.

ANTISLAVERY AND MISSIONS.

In the existing state of opinion, North and South, at the time of which we write, two things only in the relation of Northern and Southern Baptists, could be imagined as possible: — either, upon the one hand, entire silence upon the subject of slavery, or, upon the other, separate organization in missionary and other benevolent work. The difference between the two sections in point of principle, was so radical and so wide, and the personal elements involved so exciting, that continued discussion and continued union were wholly out of the question. Nor was it to be expected that either side would yield itself vanquished by the arguments of the other. Men are seldom convinced by mere argument; especially when long-standing prepossessions and dictates of personal interest range themselves with the opposi-

tion. Of the alternatives just mentioned, the second alone was practicable. Silence and acquiescence, as regards the system of slavery, were not to be thought of. The time had come when this institution must meet the ordeal of public judgment, when the right or wrong of it must be tested at the tribunals of reason and the word of God. The mind, and conscience, and apprehension of the nation had been aroused, with reference both to its character and its tendency. The question once asked, Is slavery right, and shall it be perpetuated? it demanded an answer, and the agitation of it, once begun, could never cease while the institution lasted.

Looking back, now, upon the events of that period, we see plainly that the union of Northern and Southern Baptists in missionary and other denominational work was not to be looked for. And still, brethren associated as the Baptists of this country were, are naturally slow to believe that the union they have found so pleasant, and which seems so essential, cannot be maintained. There will always be, moreover, at such a time, a greater or less number who look upon the agitation which threatens to sunder the bonds of union as itself wrong, and who will seek either to hush

discussion, or at least to so limit it, as that it shall be kept outside the common organization. Many things combined to invest the union of American Baptists in missionary work with a species of sacredness. The Triennial Convention, under which name the common organization to this end had been made, coming into being in 1814, when the hearts of American Baptists were just beginning to catch the glow of missionary fervor, and amidst circumstances investing it with peculiar providential sanctions, had, during a career of some thirty years, enshrined in its records a story of missionary devotion and sacrifice, with memorials of especial divine favor upon the work, which consecrated it as in a special sense ordained and approved of God. This record of suffering and of triumph was, too, a common heritage. The South might claim it, as well as the North, the North no less than the South. The fathers of the denomination in each section had equally given to this work among the heathen their prayers, their offerings, their counsels, and had pleaded with accordant eloquence in its behalf. Is it in the least wonderful that many should say, "Whatever comes, we must still be one people?"

At the same time, to continue one people, in

this sense, was impossible. Of those who became more and more satisfied of this as time went on, there were some who, like Mr. Colver, cherished warm Christian affection for the brethren of the South, and when they saw the tendency of anti-slavery agitation in the particular named, persisted in it only because, as a matter of conscience, they felt that they must. We cannot imagine such a thing as Nathaniel Colver ceasing to plead the cause of the slave so long as there remained a slave on American soil. That, nevertheless, he loved his brethren in the South we know, with some of them, like Dr. Brantly, his personal relations continuing to be of the most fraternal sort during this whole trying period. But the stringency of the case was no less a result of Southern than of Northern conviction. Standing forward as champions of slavery, and identified with it in all their social and personal relations, keenly sensitive to the criticisms of those who were assailing the institution with such vigorous blows, Southern Baptists came at last to put forward claims, and demand guarantees, which in the nature of the case could not be allowed.

About the year 1840, the more advanced anti-slavery Baptists, and among them Mr. Colver,

felt constrained in testimony of their disapproval of slavery, to withdraw from those in the denomination South who had slaves, the expression of their fellowship, and to decline communion with them. They put this upon the exclusive ground of the connection of Southern brethren with slavery, and gave as their reason that they felt bound, in this way, to express their disapprobation of what they deemed the sin of slaveholding. This, perhaps, more than any other thing, brought matters to a crisis. Among those assuming this position was Rev. Elon Galusha, an influential Baptist Minister in the North, an eloquent advocate of antislavery views, and at the time we mention a member of the Board of the Triennial Convention. In 1841, the Convention held its tenth Triennial meeting in Baltimore. At this meeting a new Board was to be elected, charged with the direction of the missions for the term of the ensuing year. The first note of final division was sounded in connection with the election of that Board, and more especially the re-election of Mr. Galusha.

In the previous year the Board had issued a circular, signed by Dr. Sharp, the President, and by Dr. Stow, the Recording Secretary, in which its position as regards the subject of slavery was

defined; declaring that subject to be so foreign to all the ends for which the Constitution and the Board had been called into being, as to place it outside the sphere of either. Regarding the Convention, the Circular says:

Our venerated fathers who constituted the original Convention, contemplating in the new organization the prosecution of the foreign missionary enterprise alone, and justly appreciating the vast extent of the work, and the demands which it would make upon the sympathies and resources of all benevolent hearts within the bounds of the community whom the Convention was designed to represent, were careful to lay no obstruction in the way of any individuals who might be disposed to communicate to its funds, nor any restriction upon the liberty of counsel or direction in its concerns, further than was judged indispensable to their efficient and safe administration. Their purpose, distinctly avowed in the preamble already alluded to, "was the eliciting, combining, and directing the energies of *the whole denomination* in one sacred * * effort." By the constitution, as it now stands, and has always stood, the right to a seat or representation in the Convention is based only on two conditions; 1st. That the religious body or individual be of the Baptist denomination; and 2nd. That the same shall have contributed to the treasury of the Convention a specified annual sum.

Of the relations and responsibilities of the Board, the circular says:

These relations and responsibilities have to some extent been misapprehended by brethren near and remote, and the consequence of the misapprehension has been to hold the Board accountable for things done and not done, in relation to all which alike *the Board has done nothing because it had nothing to do.*

With respect to such things the Board has, so to speak, neither a name nor existence. Its vitality and power are wholly derived, and it can by its present constitution act only to one end. As to all other intents and purposes, the Board can have power and will, only when first it shall have been endowed with them by the Convention, from whom it emanates.

Further on, the circular alludes to the question

of fellowshiping slaveholders. Some expression of its views upon this subject had been called for. Consistently with what had been before said of the relations of the Board to the general question, it is held that it can properly take no action upon this special one. The fellowshiping or non-fellowshiping of either individuals or churches is a matter which belongs to the churches themselves, and the Board in this circular refers the whole subject to that tribunal.

This declaration of neutrality on the part of the Board was doubtless addressed equally to brethren North and brethren South, and intended to show that an antislavery position, or a proslavery one, on the part of either the Convention or the Board, was equally impossible. At the meeting of the Convention held in Baltimore, of which we began to speak a little above, antislavery men felt that this neutrality, whether right or wrong, had not been observed. As we have said, Rev. Elon Galusha, prominent among those antislavery men who had disfellowshiped Baptist slaveholders, was a member of the Board. An attempt was made on the part of the South to prevent the re-election of any abolitionist and especially that of Mr. Galusha, and the matter was held of such impor-

tance there, as that to retain in the Board one who had avowed such advanced antislavery views was declared to be tantamount to the endorsement of those views, themselves. We need not enter into the merits of the question which thus had to be settled. Suffice it to say that as a measure of conciliation the name of Mr. Galusha was left off the new Board. Most persons will now say, perhaps, that it was best to exhaust all suitable means of conciliation, in the interests of peace and denominational union. It cannot be denied, however, that so far as this proceeding was a concession to the South it was a departure from the position of strict neutrality. Antislavery men so viewed it, and were the more influenced by it, as it seemed to them indicative of a tendency to allow in missionary management a preponderance of Southern influence.

One result of the action at Baltimore was that the American Baptist Antislavery Convention, organized the year previous, was made to feel itself called upon to enter the field, at least provisionally, as a missionary organization. A Provisional Committee was appointed, to receive funds for missionary purposes during the interval of suspense as to the ultimate course of the Triennial

Convention, and to disburse the same as should seem most wise. A circular was addressed to the missionaries abroad, informing them of the state of affairs at home, and assuring them that should they find it inconsistent with their views upon the question of slavery to continue to receive support from the treasury of the Triennial Convention, they might rely upon it through that of the new organization. Dr. and Mrs. Wade responded to this in such a way as to place them for the time under appointment of the Provisional Committee.

The antislavery discussion, in its relation to missions, had thus assumed a triangular form. In the South, brethren were watchful, sensitive to every expression among Northern Baptists condemnatory of slavery, especially of all that tended to impeach their own Christian consistency, and disposed to exact guarantees from those with whom thus far they had remained united in missionary work. In the North, the Board of the Triennial Convention and its supporters were seeking to maintain a position of neutrality and to keep the missionary organization apart from all movements of reform. The Baptist Antislavery Convention, holding that this position of neutrality had been abandoned in concessions made to

Southern feeling, afforded a rallying centre for all those who were anxious to see the missionary work and every other cut loose from all connection whatever with slavery and with slaveholders. In this three-fold form the agitation went on. In 1843, the Board of the Triennial Convention, replying to communications of the Provisional Committee of the Antislavery Convention addressed to missionaries, indignantly denied that the position of neutrality had been abandoned; and at the annual meeting, held at Philadelphia, adopted a preamble and resolutions, introduced by Dr. Wm. Hague and seconded by Rev. (now Dr.) W. W. Everts, directing that "the circular issued by the Acting Board in 1840, asserting their neutrality on all subjects not immediately connected with the great work to which they were specially appointed, be revised and printed with the report of that year, as expressive of the sentiments and position of the present Board." In the following year the same Board found itself compelled to meet questions urged from the opposite quarter, and which brought the matter of its relations with the South to a crisis. A communication was in that year, 1844, addressed by the Baptist State Convention of Alabama to the Acting Board of

the Triennial Convention — an executive body consisting of seventeen members in Boston and vicinity, chosen yearly by the General Board, and charged with the care of the missions in the interim of the annual meeting — containing a preamble and resolutions, the object of which was to compel an express avowal of the position of the Board upon one point — the eligibility of slaveholders to missionary and other appointments. The Board replied through Dr Sharp, its President, and Dr. Bolles, its Corresponding Secretary. To the resolution which declared that "where one party to a voluntary compact between Christian brethren is not willing to acknowledge the entire social equality of the other as to all the privileges and benefits of the union, nor even to refrain from impeachment and annoyance, united efforts between such parties, even in the sacred cause of Christian benevolence, cease to be agreeable, useful, or proper," the answer given was,

> In these sentiments we entirely coincide. As a Board we have the high conciousness, that it has always been our aim to act in accordance therewith. We have never called in question your social equality as to all privileges and benefits of the foreign missionary union. Nor have we ever employed our official influence in impeaching or annoying you. Should we ever do this, our "united efforts," as you justly say, would "cease to be agreeable, useful or proper."

In reply to the resolution which demanded "the

distinct and explicit avowal that slaveholders are eligible and entitled to all the privileges and immunities of their several unions, and especially to receive any agency, mission or other appointment which may fall within the scope of their operations and duties," the Board said:

> We need not say that slaveholders, as well as non-slaveholders, are unquestionably entitled to all the privileges and immunities which the constitution of the Baptist General Convention permits and grants to its members. We would not deprive either of any of the immunities of the mutual contract. In regard, however, to any agency mission, or other appointment, no slaveholder or non-slaveholder, however large his subscription to foreign missions, or those of the church with which he is connected, is on that account entitled to be appointed to any agency or mission. The appointing power, for wise and good reasons, has been confided to the "Acting Board," they holding themselves accountable to the Convention for the discreet and faithful discharge of this trust.
>
> Should you say, "The above remarks are not sufficiently explicit; we wish distinctly to know whether the Board would, or would not, appoint a slaveholder as a missionary," — before directly replying, we would say that in the thirty years in which the Board has existed, no slaveholder, to our knowledge, has applied to be a missionary. And as we send out no domestics or servants, such an event as a missionary taking slaves with him, were it morally right, could not in accordance with all our past arrangements, or present plans, possibly occur. If, however, any one should offer himself as a missionary, having slaves, and insist on retaining them as his property, we would not appoint him. One thing is certain; we can never be a party to any arrangement which would imply approbation of slavery.

The third resolution was to the effect that should any question arise affecting the morals of a candidate for appointment to missionary or other service under the Board, "such question should not be disposed of, to the grief of the party, with-

out ultimate appeal to the particular church of which such an individual is a member, as being the only body on earth authorized by the Scriptures, or competent, to consider and decide this class of cases." To this the Board replied:

> In regard to our Board, there is no point on which we are more unanimously agreed than that of the independence of churches. We disclaim all and every pretension to interfere with the discipline of any church. We disfellowship no one. Nevertheless, were a person to offer himself as a candidate for missionary service, although commended by his church as in good standing, we should feel it our duty to open our eyes on any facts to the disadvantage of his moral and religious character which should come under our observation. And while we should not feel that it was our province to excommunicate or discipline a candidate of a doubtful character, yet we should be unworthy of our trust, if we did not, although he were a member of a church, reject his application. It is for the Board to determine on the prudential, moral, and theological fitness of each one who offers himself as a missionary; it is for the church, of which such an one is a member, to decide whether he be a fit person to belong to their body.

Upon the publication of this reply of the Acting Board, it became at once evident from the tone assumed by public sentiment, as indicated in the Baptist press of the South, and in the action of churches, that further union of the denomination in missionary work was not to be expected. In the following year, May 8-12, 1845, the Southern Baptist Convention was organized at Augusta, Ga., and held its first session. Two boards were chosen, one for foreign missions, the other for home missions; the former located at Richmond,

the latter at Marion, Ala. Dr. Wm. B. Johnson, of South Carolina, was its first President.

The eleventh triennial meeting of the General Convention had been held at Philadelphia in the previous year. At this meeting, Dr. Johnson, elected President of the Convention at its session in Baltimore in 1841, declined a re-election, and Dr. Wayland was chosen in his place. Dr. Johnson gave as his reason for thus declining, that in his judgment the next presiding officer of the Convention should be a Northern man. In the thirty years of the history of this body, he said, the President for twenty-one years had been taken from the South. As appears above, he was selected for the first President of the Southern Convention upon its organization. This separate organization by Southern Baptists having broken the union before existing, but whose bond had for some time previously been growing more and more attenuated, it was evident that new measures on the part of the North were made necessary. Accordingly a special session of the Triennial Convention Board was held at Philadelphia, September 24, 25, 1845. At this meeting the following was adopted:

In view of the recent missionary organization at the South, and the new relations thence arising; also in view of the imperfections in the provisions of our present Constitution; it is expedient for this Board to request the President of the Convention to call an extra session of that body, to be held in the Baptist Tabernacle in the city of New York, on the third Wednesday in November next, at 10 o'clock A.M.

A special session of the Convention was accordingly called by Dr. Wayland, the President, and was held at the time and place fixed by the Board. At this session the preliminaries of a new organization were effected, and the organization consummated in the spring of the year following, under the name of the American Baptist Missionary Union. Two circumstances lent especial interest to this event; the presence of Dr. Adoniram Judson, then upon his first visit home, and the liquidation of the debt of $40,000, contracted by the Convention during the agitations of which we have spoken. It was, for American Baptist missions in heathen lands, the auspicious beginning of a new career.

This imperfect sketch of events very important in the annals of American Baptists would be still more incomplete without some reference to the history of the antislavery agitation in its connection with Home Missions. The American Baptist Home Mission Society, organized in 1832, with

the American continent as its field of operations, was in a position to feel the effect of this agitation certainly not less than the Convention by which foreign mission work had been undertaken. As it had missionaries in the South equally as in the North and West, the question of the appointment of slaveholders as such was not a suppositious, but an intensely practical one; while in the various relations and work of the Society the more general one of fellowship or non-fellowship for the institution of slavery, as represented by those who maintained or sanctioned it, was one ever present. The discussion of the subject in the Home Mission Society went forward, *pari passu*, with the same in the Triennial Convention. The details of the history cannot, of course, be here given. The following paper, however, written and circulated by a committee of the Society appointed at the anniversary in Philadelphia in 1844, may representatively indicate the special questions under debate and the general spirit of the Society's proceedings:

At the late annual meeting of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, held in the city of Philadelphia, the question, Shall the holding of slaves disqualify a minister for appointment as a missionary by this Society? was the subject of protracted discussion. The subject is not hypothetical, but practical, inasmuch as slaveholding missionaries are now under appointment by

our Board. The members from the South insisted upon the appointment of slaveholders, as the only terms upon which they could continue their connection with the Society; while many from the North were equally sanguine that they must not be appointed. It was the opinion of the Southern members, and of many Northern members (and even of those who were opposed to their appointment) that the Constitution in its present form provided for their appointment. After much solemn and earnest, though kind discussion, it was obvious to all that the difficulty was not in feeling, but in conscientious principle, and difficult to be disposed of in such a way as to promote the continued co-operation of the North and the South in the Society; and the subject was finally disposed of by unanimously passing the following resolution, and appointing the following Committee: "*Resolved*, That a Committee, of three from the North, three from the South and three from the West, with the President of the Society as Chairman, be appointed to take into consideration the subject of an amicable dissolution of this Society, or to report such alterations in the Constitution as will admit of the co-operation of the brethren who cherish conflicting views on the subject of slavery." The Committee appointed are Hon. Heman Lincoln, of Massachusetts, Rev. J. Gilpatric, of Maine, Rev. Henry Jackson, of Massachusetts, Rev. Pharcellus Church, of New York, Rev. J. Going, of Ohio, Rev. Adial Sherwood, of Illinois, Rev. Howard Malcolm, of Kentucky, Rev. Wm. B. Johnson, of South Carolina, Rev. J. L. Dagg, of Georgia. Rev. J. B. Taylor, of Virginia, Rev. N. Colver, of Massachusetts, were added to the Committee.

After adjournment of the Society the Committee met and had a free and fraternal conversation upon the subject committed to them; and it was unanimously resolved that the Committee should endeavor to ascertain the sentiments of the ministers and churches of the Baptist denomination in the sections of country in which they respectively reside, and report the same to an adjourned meeting of the Committee, on the day preceding the next annual meeting of the Society, that the Committee may be prepared to report to the meeting as the information then obtained shall warrant. The questions on which the Committee desire a distinct and *laconic* answer, are, *First*, Do you approve of the appointment of any man as a missionary of the Society who is a slaveholder, or who holds his fellow-man as his property? *Second*, Can you suggest any alteration in the Constitution of the Society, that will permit the co-operation of brethren who cherish conflicting views on the subject of slavery? Will you, at your earliest convenience, favor the committee with your views in reply to these inquiries?

The full execution of this plan was made

unnecessary by the organization of the Southern Baptist Convention, with a Home Mission Board, in May of the year following, which act separated the South from the North in Home Missions as in Foreign Missions. The subject nevertheless was not by this event at once wholly thrown out of the Society. The Committee made a report at the meeting of the Society held in 1845, offering however no plan for a division of the Society, but recommending simply that in case separation should take place — as already it substantially had — the Society having been planted and chartered at the North, and having its Executive Board there, the Northern portion should retain the Constitution and Charter. The report also recommended that the Executive Board should adjust all claims on the Society which should be presented by Southern members, or auxiliaries, in a liberal and conciliatory manner. This course was accordingly adopted, and the Society left thus with the formal organization which it had received at the beginning, and which it still retains.

While the report of this Committee was under discussion, Mr. Colver offered an amendment to the effect that the Board should not hereafter appoint slaveholders as missionaries. The amend-

ment was first adopted, but the question then recurring upon the adoption of the report as a whole, new objection arose to the amendment, which was held by some to be unconstitutional. The vote adopting was reconsidered and finally decided in the negative. On the next day of the session, Mr. Colver moved to amend the report by adding a resolution that it was *inexpedient* for the Executive Board to appoint any person a mis sionary who held or advocated the holding of his fellow-men in slavery. Dr. Elisha Tucker, of New York, opposing the amendment, urged the fact that by late events the question had ceased to be a practical one. He offered, further, to assure the Society, on the strength of pledges made to him to this effect, "that the Board would *not* appoint any man missionary who held property in his fellow-man." Dr. Maginnis, of the Theological Seminary at Hamilton, seconded Dr. Tucker in this. Upon this Mr. Colver arose and said that "on the strength of these assurances, which he had no doubt were made in all sincerity, he would withdraw his motion to amend." Thus also in the Home Mission Society the conclusion of a matter full of the elements of agitation and division was at last reached.

There remained, even after the question of a connection of the North with slavery, either in Home Missions or in Foreign Missions, had been practically decided by the separation of the South in its independent organizations for both these ends, a considerable number of Antislavery Baptists who felt that both the Convention and the Home Mission Society ought to declare themselves against the institution by express action. By these the Society which took the name of the American Baptist Free Mission Society, was organized. With this movement Mr. Colver, to the disappointment of some among his antislavery associates, never connected himself. He regarded the work of missions, both at home and abroad, so far as Northern Baptists are concerned, as now practically separated from all connection with slavery. He saw now no reason for disturbing his own relations with the body of the denomination, while feeling, also, that all possible should be done to promote union, and the larger strength and efficiency which union gives. Some of his thoughts, bearing in these directions, are given in a letter written to Rev. Archibald Kenyon, in 1844, when as yet the questions to which we

have referred were still pending. We take a brief extract:

I am not satisfied with the resolution which was passed in the Triennial Convention, but with the *ultimate result*, together with the effect of the position of things in the Home Mission Society, I hope I shall be satisfied. A split between the North and the South is inevitable; and if so, how is that split to stop short of the Triennial Convention? The South are sanguine, and I think the North will be as sanguine. The South will not co-operate, unless the North will admit that slaveholding does not disqualify the minister to preach, and such admission will not be made. I am told that the members of the old Board will give a prompt and decisive answer to our question, adverse to slavery; and if they do, they will soon have the same question to dispose of in that Board. Believe me, my dear brother, I am blind to no movement. I have no disposition to look back, or to go back. The Provisional Committee will not be given up until its work is done. Brother Wade will be taken care of. We shall most strictly adhere to the command of God to the prophets; "Let them return unto thee, but return not thou unto them." We shall hold on to the rope till all is right. I regret that by the new organization you are not with us to help, as I think your position is such as will prevent your usefulness, both in the cause of missions and in getting either the ministers or the churches right, and I fear somewhat interfere with and hinder us, but I hope not much. I shall endeavor not to hinder you from doing all the good you can.

The reader will scarcely need to have pointed out to him the indication afforded by this extract, that Mr. Colver confided in the brethren with whom, as leaders of the denomination, he had been so long and so intimately associated, and in the denomination itself. He never doubted that the

body of his Baptist brethren in the North would ultimately stand with him on the great question, which, to his own convictions, was so vital. This faith was prophetic, and God permitted him to live until the prophecy had become history.

Mr. Colver's personal course as regards this question of the relation of slavery to missions was characterized by the strong conviction, the out-spoken frankness, the bold and prompt action, natural to him in all positions. Persuaded as he was that more radical measures were called for, in the societies, than the majority of his brethren approved, he was by this circumstance placed in an attitude which made him liable to misapprehension, both in his opinions and in his motives. He was the leader of a dissenting minority, whose course to more conservative minds might easily seem often captious and disorganizing. That his zeal for what he felt to be right never carried him too far, he himself would have been the last to claim; that he was never a stickler for trivialities, nor animated by the small ambitions of a party leader, those who differed from him most widely would have readily conceded. His course in remaining with the body of the denomination, and in maintaining those organizations in Christian enterprise

upon which so much depended, and which had already been so largely blessed in their work, showed that he could distinguish, in the movement of a reform, between the essential and the incidental; that he could wait for the operation of tendencies; and that he had faith in the revolutionizing effect of accepted principles, developing "first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear."

CHAPTER X.

SOUTH ABINGTON.—DETROIT.—1852-1856.

We pass lightly over the causes which led to Mr. Colver's resignation of his pastorate in Boston, and his removal to South Abington. It was natural that the state of his relations with the man who had been chiefly instrumental in bringing him to Boston, and upon whom in all his work there he mainly relied, should seem to him very important; and while these relations were always friendly, still, when they became less entirely harmonious, it is not surprising that out of this should grow a feeling tending to unsettle him. A city pastorate, besides, is extremely exacting. So far as readiness to meet the demands of special occasions is concerned, or activity in all the miscellany of work falling to one in such a position, Mr. Colver could never be wanting. The purely extemporaneous preacher, however, especially if a man

without special culture, finds himself, in a pastorate of this kind, placed at some disadvantage. It is remarkable that even for the period of thirteen years, Mr. Colver surmounted this difficulty so well, nor, when at length he resigned his pastorate, had his power waned so as to be noticeable in any special way. Some diversion of mind there had been to other pursuits, such as those of mechanical invention. It is unnecessary to go into details. Every one knows how in even the most successful pastorate a time comes at last when a change, though not made imperative, is plainly best. It is highly creditable to a man in this or in any other position, when he has sense enough to see and firmness enough to recognize the fact, when such becomes the fact, and when with all his other gifts he is found not to be wanting in what is sometimes called "the retiring gift."

Before leaving the subject of the Boston pastorate, however, we may be allowed one other reference to the visit to England, of which we have already made brief mention. The reader will be interested we think in the first letter sent by Mr. Colver to his wife, after arriving out. We copy a considerable portion of it accordingly. It bears date, "Bristol, England, May 25, 1840."

Through the mercy of him who commands the winds and the waves, I am once more on dry land, on this side the great water, and I improve the first moment to acquaint you with the Lord's goodness to a poor worm of the dust. We were fourteen days on the passage. We had no *very* bad storm, but a good deal of stormy, blowing weather, so much so as to keep me sick all the way. Five days I was confined to my berth, and the rest of the time I was so unwell as to enjoy almost nothing at all. After the second day at sea my cough entirely left me, and has not yet returned.

Our voyage on some accounts was pleasant, on others exceedingly unpleasant. We had a good captain and good accommodations; but one continued scene of wine-drinking and merriment, except on the Sabbath. Never was I more sick of the world. What can be worse than to be imprisoned with those who fear not God? The first Sabbath almost all were sick in their berths. The second Sabbath brother Galusha preached, but I was too sick to enjoy it. The weather prevented the captain from getting the sun the last two days but one, and we got about an hundred and fifty miles too far to the North, and the first land we saw, was on the west coast of Ireland. We lost nearly one day's sail.

It was beautiful, as we came up Bristol Channel, to look off into Devonshire. No garden could be in a better state of cultivation than is the whole country, even to the tops of the highest hills; nothing more picturesque than the fields divided off by the thorn-hedges.

We got our trunks through the Custom House about one o'clock Sabbath morning, and yesterday heard two very good sermons from Elder Roberts, at King's Street Chapel. His people admire him much, and I was well entertained; and yet I felt that there was in it a great lack, and if such is the general preaching of Great Britain, the fact that they have no revivals is well accounted for. In the morning his theme was the commandment of Joseph concerning his bones (Gen. l, 25). He made an excellent apology for Joseph, and I have no doubt that his congregation were perfectly satisfied that Joseph had good reasons for what he did; but I doubt whether any one of his congregation, saint or sinner, suspected that the preacher had come to *them* with any message from the Lord, or that he intended to urge any of God's claims upon them.

He received us very kindly in the vestry, where he retired after preaching. He mentioned us very kindly in his afternoon prayer, but they have an arbitrary rule not to ask strangers to pray or preach. One of his brethren took us in charge, and went with us in the afternoon to Broadmead Chapel, where Robert Hall used to preach. Here we heard what might be called anything but a sermon, from a young man whose name I do not get. The brother took us home with him to tea. His table was well set out with wine-bottles when we arrived, and he pressed us hard to drink, but we declined. He seemed surprised; said his minister drank, and often said, when he came to see him, "Well, brother, I must have a little brandy-and-water." In giving my reasons for declining, I gave him a little temperance lecture. He thought it might do in America, but could never go here. He was, however, very kind, and to-day is to show us the city.

Tuesday, 26. We have been looking at Bristol, and to-morrow start for London. It has rained every day since we arrived here, and is only pleasant a few hours toward night. I have been better since landing, but I am very weak, my mouth and throat are full of canker and to-day I cough some. I think I have taken a little cold. We have seen what we could about Bristol. The scenery is very fine, but you know I am not good at description, and so will not attempt it. We have been into the Giant's Cave, two hundred and fifty feet under ground, and rode once around the city. Vegitation is in its life, now. Pears are about the size of an ounce-ball, and the hawthorn is in full blossom. We visited Elder Roberts to-day, and took breakfast with him. He is full of Antislavery. We had a pleasant interview. We also visited Bristol Academy. It is now in a flourishing condition. We were received by Mr. Cusp, the principal, with great kindness, and shown the rooms and library; the latter containing eight or ten thousand volumes. We saw the concordance used by Bunyan when in Bedford Jail, and many other antique relics.

Bristol contains about thirty thousand inhabitants. Its streets are narrow, crooked, and dirty in wet weather. The doors open direct from the sidewalk, without any ascent. The people seem almost to live in the street. The ladies all walk in iron clogs; an iron ring, about four inches in circumference, fastened under the

bottom of their feet, which elevates them about an inch, and gives them a clumsy, awkward gait. They make a dreadful clacking as they go. They wear these to keep their feet from the wet, and perhaps to save shoe-leather. Women and boys, and some men, bring their commodities to market in large baskets hung on each side of poor, miserable donkeys, but little larger than a goat,— but these are all little things.

You must make my love good to all the dear brethren and sisters. O, how I want to see them all! I do not cease to pray for them. I not only make it a point to meet them at ten o'clock, as the time is here, but most of the nights I keep awake till twenty minutes past one in the morning, so as to be engaged at the same time that ten o'clock arrives there, and I assure you I find great pleasure in it. O! how sweet is prayer; and how sweet the fellowship of the saints. I cannot express how much I love that dear church. I love them for the truth's sake. I love them for the slave's sake. I love them for their kindness to me and mine, and above all, I love them for Christ's sake. I pray God to restore my health and permit me to make them some return for their kindness; at least to unburden my heart of its love and gratitude to them. Tell brother Cormack to read to them, as from me, the seven first verses of the second chapter of Colossians.

Bristol, like other portions of England, has changed since the time when this letter was written, and, although social customs in that country are singularly averse to any thing like innovation, there has been some change even there. Mr. Colver bore his testimony as a temperance man wherever he went in England, and not without effect. The movement there in favor of reform, in this particular, which has gained some strength since that time, he is believed to have had some share in originating. Some examples

of his method in bearing his testimony as a temperance man are recalled, and may here be cited:

Upon one occasion, being present at a dinner where most of the guests were ministers and strong antislavery men, some one remarked with much emphasis that he did not believe it possible for a man to be a Christian and yet hold slaves. Mr. Colver at once replied that he found Christian men often doing things which surprised him.

"For example," said he, with a significant allusion to the abundant wines on the table, "how can Christian men encourage by their example a practice so pernicious as the use of intoxicating drinks?"

The rebuke was not without effect; for having been invited to meet nearly the same company at another dinner given soon after, he had the pleasure of observing that the wine did not appear. On another occasion, being invited by the minister of a chapel where he was present upon a Sabbath morning to go with him into the vestry after service, he did so, and as was then customary was offered a glass of wine. Of course he refused, but added, addressing the minister:

"I noticed in your congregation, this morning, a lady of fine personal appearance, who has been

recovered out of the degradation of confirmed habits of intoxication. Do you think it is right for the shepherd to lead where it is death for the sheep to go?"

His hope, as regards restored health, was in a great measure realized, and when, after some months' absence, he returned to his charge in Boston, it was with physical energy much renewed.

In the year 1851, Mr. Colver visited the West, and had, as is believed, his first view of what was to be the scene of his later life and labor. Among his papers we find very brief notes of this journey, which we copy just as they stand:

June 2nd. Started, with my wife and Sarah, for Illinois. Passed through Rutland to Granville.

June 3rd. Went to Whitehall.

June 4th. Went to Champlain.

June 5th. Preached in Malone.

June 6th. Went to Fort Covington; preached in the evening at the Methodist house.

June 7th. Returned to Malone, and thence to Ogdensburg.

June 8th. Preached for Bro. Webb afternoon and evening attended the morning prayer-meeting—a good meeting.

June 9th. Started for Buffalo.

June 10th. At Lewiston.

June 11th. Arrived at Detroit; went to Mount Clemens.

June 12th. Returned to Detroit.

June 13th. New Buffalo.

June 15th. Preached at Elgin, Illinois, morning and evening, for brother Joslyn.

June 20th. Preached at Chemung, from 2 Cor., v, 9. Good

assembly; good attention. On hearing of my arrival, the people turned out and put a temporary floor, pulpit and seats into a little and unfinished house of worship, and made it quite convenient.

June 21st. Saturday, P. M., in company with brother Tobey, visited the brethren and sisters in Chemung. Called on seven families. A strong desire was expressed by nearly all to have a church formed.

This is but a fragment; as is, indeed, the case with all his personal notes,—a man too busy to record much of his own doings, or even of his thoughts.

On the 30th of March, 1852, Mr. Colver, having closed his work at Tremont Temple, with the exception of his farewell sermon, fixed for the next Sabbath, sent away his goods to Abington, to which place he was about to remove. On that same night the Temple was burned to the ground. The farewell sermon was preached at Marlboro Chapel, one of those places in which he had first met a Boston audience. Were there not, in the results of a minister's work, something more solid than brick or stone, and were outward conditions exclusive proofs of permanent success, he might have had reason to feel that his thirteen years of toil had been thrown away. That it was not so, however, was proved in the rapidity with which the walls of the new Temple rose, and has continued in process of demonstration ever since, in the

growth and power of the church under the pastors who have succeeded him, and notably, since the present pastor, Dr, Fulton, came to the place he fills so well.

South Abington, to which church Mr. Colver had received and accepted a call, is about twenty-one miles from Boston, on the old Colony Railroad from that city to Plymouth. From one fact in its history the Baptist church there would seem to have afforded an example of the signal changes in public sentiment upon one pregnant subject, wrought within the period we have been considering. The church was organized in 1822. To the deeds of pews in its house of worship given to purchasers, there was a condition then affixed, which now reads strangely:

> To have and to hold the same to the said ——— his heirs and assigns, forever, upon express conditions, and not otherwise, that the said,——— his heirs and assigns, shall not suffer the pew or any part thereof to be conveyed to, or occupied by, or in any manner come into the possession of any colored person or persons, any one classed with him or them, and that the house is to be a Calvanistic Baptist meeting-house forever.

This clause remained in force until the year 1836, when to the credit of the church it was stricken out, although even at that time more or less of the spirit which had originally dictated it remained in the body. That, however, an anti-

slavery man so pronounced and so well-known as Nathaniel Colver should, in 1852, have been called as pastor is proof sufficient that by this time the church had left its old ground, and taken one at once more tenable and more honorable. Were further proof needed, it might be found in the fact that during Mr. Colver's pastorate of one year he was allowed to comprehend in his ministry the principles of reform as well as the doctrines of salvation, while throughout the year the union and mutual love of pastor and people were without a jar. We find it written that, "On Fast day he preached to his people one of the most radical sermons to which they ever listened. I did not hear it," adds the writer, himself a radical of the radicals, "but was informed that it cut them up, root and branch.' I have heard him myself, in some of his sermons, preach to them the true Gospel in a way they never heard before. He has recently been on a tour in Canada, among the refugees. Since his return, he has given quite an interesting account of his journey. He spoke of meeting Samuel J. May, and told his people he supposed they all knew who he was. 'If you do not, it is time you did.' He has given two lectures, here, on the temperance question, since he came

among us, but no lecture has he devoted wholly to Antislavery or Free Soil. Most of his labors, however, are devoted to preaching the Gospel of the Baptist denomination, which is more sectarian than reformatory. Mr. Colver is not what he should be, but I consider him far in advance of his church; and I cannot but hope he will do good here, in bringing them to a more healthy state, as it respects their duty to humanity and the reforms of the day."

The writer of this letter, which was printed in Mr. Garrison's paper, had himself left the Baptist church in South Abington, on account of what he deemed its delinquencies in matters of reform. Had Mr. Colver done the same, he would doubtless, in the estimation of his critic, have become "what he should be." In Mr. Colver's own estimation what he should be was, first of all and above all, a minister of Christ, preaching "the Gospel of the Baptist denomination."

We must not dwell upon this brief pastorate. Its history is summed up in a few notes by Mr. Colver himself, which we copy as we find them:

April 2nd, 1853. Attended Covenant meeting for the last time in South Abington. Three told their experience.

Sunday, 3. Preached my farewell sermon, from Matt. xi. 28. *Doctrine*, "*The cure of the world's woe found in Christ.*

Three baptized, and communion. It was a meeting mingled with joy and pain; joy in the grace of God, but pain at our separation. I here record with pleasure that the year spent in Abington, so far as my intercourse with the church and people is concerned, was one of unmingled pleasure, a pleasure and love undisturbed by one unkind word or feeling, as I know, and a year, from its begining to its close, almost constantly attended by a gentle revival influence. For this precious year which I and my family have enjoyed in the service, and love, and kindness of this dear people, the Lord be praised. Here I raise an Ebenezer, hereafter to be regarded with grateful emotions of thanksgiving and praise.

In this connection he speaks of a pecuniary loss, occasioned by the failure in business of one whom he had trusted. He says: "Well, I will not fret, though the loss is severe. 'It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good.' I have ever prayed that if God saw I had a dollar which I did not hold and use as his, he would take it away from me. I receive this as an answer to prayer. I will humble myself, and try to guard better against that covetousness and selfishness of my heart, which has called for this rebuke."

In April, 1853, Mr. Colver accepted a call from the first Baptist church in Detroit, Michigan. Of his arrival in that city he speaks in a brief note found among his papers. His journey had been by way of Buffalo and Lake Erie; "Relieved from the sickness of the wave, I took a carriage to brother Glover's, but found they had gone to

the covenant meeting. Brother Kendrick soon came in and gave me a most cordial greeting. He took me to the meeting, where they had just been praying for my safe arrival. I have prayed God to come with me, or prevent my coming. If he come not, I am sure I have come in vain, and that the long and patient waiting of this people has been destined to be paid with disappointment. O Lord, come with me!"

The writer of these pages, was most unexpectedly to himself, present on the Sabbath morning when the new pastor appeared before his people in the first sermon of his stated ministry there. The church had been for a year without a pastor, although acceptably supplied by Rev. Geo. W. Harris of the "Michigan Christian Herald." Mr. Colver's coming had been anticipated with great interest, and his appearance in the pulpit on that Sabbath morning was most welcome. The long years of strenuous toil had begun to tell upon the stalwart frame; and the old fire, if not cooled, was in a degree mellowed. If there was any diminution of the energy of former years, or of the animated eloquence which so many had admired, there was none in the tenderness, the

Scriptural richness, the solid excellence, which had been qualities equally marked.

No special revival marked the three years of Mr. Colver's ministry in Detroit. The additions by baptism, during this period were seventeen; a considerable number also by letter; — the church numbering, when he left it in March, 1856, four hundred and fifty. One pleasing memorial of his cordial participation with brethren of other denominations in the common work, we find in the following brief note:

Detroit, May 10, 1853.

REV. AND DEAR SIR: It becomes my very pleasant duty to transmit to you the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted at the annual meeting of the Detroit Sunday School Union, held in the basement of the First Baptist Church, on Monday evening, May 9th.

Resolved. That the thanks of the Union are due, and the same are hereby tendered to the Rev N. Colver, for the able and interesting discourse delivered by him at the meeting of the Union in the First Presbyterian Church, on the evening of Sunday May 8th.

I also have the very great pleasure to announce to you that you were duly elected President of this Union for the ensuing year.

THOS. M. COOK,
Secretary.

REV. N. COLVER.

In a letter referring to Mr. Colver's pastorate in Detroit, Dea. Rollin C. Smith, now of Omaha, Nebraska, says: "His ministry there was marked by his characteristic sincerity, and uncompromising antagonism to all that opposed itself against God, whether manifested in the unscriptural teachings of others, the ungodly and indifferent

lives of Christians, or in the open violation of the teachings of God's word. In him the cause of Temperance had an unflinching friend, the cause of the oppressed an out-spoken, persistent advocate. To my mind, his chief excellence as a preacher consisted in his deep convictions of the truth of the Gospel, and his wonderful power in enforcing these convictions upon the minds of his hearers. In the social meetings of the church, his expositions of the Scriptures were peculiarly rich and instructive. Those who were present at these meetings were indeed a privileged class. I love to think of his earnest, faith-inspiring prayers. How full of Christ they were; how warm in their zeal for the growth of Christian graces in the hearts of God's children. How full of compassion for sinners. Mr. Colver's interest in young men just entering the ministry was peculiarly strong and tender. He was always ready with a judicious word of counsel and cheer for them. Of his social qualifications I need not speak. Those who have enjoyed his acquaintance can testify to his ready wit and genial humor, while those who were so happy as to be ranked amongst his friends, can never forget his ready sympathy, on every occa-

sion, either of joy or of sorrow. The fragrance of his memory is truly sweet."

The period of this residence in Detroit was rendered memorable by one incident of sad and tender interest, the death of his daughter and youngest child, Sarah. She died July 1, 1854, of cholera, after only fourteen hours illness. Mr. Colver was from home at the time; returning next day, he entered the room where she was lying, and was so affected by the sight of his dead child that he fell senseless to the floor. The numerous testimonials of admiration and regard for her, and of sympathy for himself and family, which he and they received, proved that beyond the limits of her own home this interesting young person had gained the praise of more than ordinary excellence. "She always appeared to me," wrote Dr. Neale, "as a girl of most amiable disposition, and one who, from her natural good sense, education and piety, would be a great comfort and support to you in future years. My daughter, who was in school with her, always spoke of her as a perfect girl, and I was in the habit of commending her to my own children, as a most worthy example of female loveliness and consistency of Christian character." Dr. Stow wrote: "My acquaintance

with her was limited, but it was sufficient to convince me that she was a a young lady of uncommon worth. This opinion was confirmed by the testimony of many who knew her better." A correspondent in South Abington wrote: "Although she has been away from us a little more than a year, yet her spirit has been with us, and when the news of her death reached us, we seemed to miss her on the Sabbath from the house of God, from the Sabbath school, class meetings, and meetings for prayer. She was always cheerful, and her presence and smiles gave a charm and chaste relish to life's sweetest pleasures." These testimonials were comforting to the bereaved heart, as also the apt words of suggestion from brethren in the ministry, in which was offered the same cup of consolation which Mr. Colver himself had so often presented to others. "The thought has been present to my mind since hearing of your bereavement," wrote Dr. Olmstead, "how often you have yourself been a minister of consolation to earth's sorrowing ones. The same arguments and motives to resignation and upholding faith in God's government, character and providence, which have proved so sure a solace to them, you can well address to your own heart."

Sarah was born in Kingsbury, N. Y., while her father and family resided there. At fourteen years of age she was baptized, in company with several other happy converts, in the fellowship of the Tremont Temple Church, in Boston, adorning her Christian profession, ever after, in a conversation eminently godly, and a life beautifully well-ordered. She was buried in Elmwood Cemetery, at Detroit, but in 1868, fourteen years after, her father had her remains taken up and brought to Chicago, where they were placed beside those of her mother in Oakwood Cemetery, near this city. In a few lines expressive of his emotions on this occasion, Dr. Colver represents the daughter as thus addressing the parent to whose side she had once more come to nestle:

Dear mother, do you know I 've come
To nestle at your side once more,
To share with you your peaceful home
And slumber sweetly as of yore?

Earth's storms are hushed. Hail, sweet release
From toil, and care, and grief, and pain.
Here, mother, we will rest in peace,
Till God shall wake us up again.

O yes, mother, he said he 'd come
And take us to himself again.
Delightful morning! Happy home!
From death's long sleep, we 'll rise and reign.

After four years' service in Detroit, Mr. Colver yielded to the earnest solicitations of the First Baptist Church in Cincinnati, and in 1856 became their pastor. He left behind him in Detroit, as in each other field of labor so occupied since entering the ministry, a church warmly attached to him, and grateful for the inspiration and impulse found alike in his public teaching and his personal example.

CHAPTER XI.

CINCINNATI. — 1856–1861.

From the period of Mr. Colver's pastorate in Cincinnati, may be dated his more active interest in a work which to the end of his life more and more occupied his thoughts and his energies. The Fairmount Theological Seminary being then still in existence at Cincinnati, he interested himself much in its affairs. But his mind became increasingly intent upon views of his own touching the education of ministers, and increasingly watchful for opportunities for putting those views in a way of practical realization. The leading point in these views was, that both the theology and the preaching of our ministry needed to be made more thoroughly *biblical*. He believed that he perceived a drifting toward excessive regard for mere theological systems, upon the one hand, and toward loose popular tendencies upon the other.

He did not undervalue *learning*, in its connection with ministerial preparation, nor because himself not a scholar did he adopt the prejudice that a minister must necessarily be so much less a true minister in proportion as he is cultivated and scholarly. But he distrusted all tendencies, whatever the form they took, which carried the minister or the private Christian away from the Bible, or encouraged reliance upon aught else but the word of God, as either a guide to faith or a source of inspiration. His wish, growing ever more ardent in the last years of his life, was to set in motion, before he should die, a reacting tendency toward the more biblical methods of that older ministry with which his own earlier associations had been identified.

While in Cincinnati Mr Colver sought to realize his convictions upon this subject, at least in some degree, by gathering about him a class of young brethren preparing for the ministry, and giving them instruction upon these points, especially, *what to preach*, and *how to preach*. The suspension of Fairmount Seminary made this a work still more needful, and placed under his care a very interesting class. After his removal from Cincinnati, he gave himself to this work more and more, as

we shall see. One of those converted under his ministry at Cincinnati, and subsequently a student with him in theology, was Rev. A. C. Hubbard, pastor now of the Baptist Church in Danbury, Connecticut. From him we have received reminiscences of Mr. Colver, and of his labors in Cincinnati, which have so much interest and value that we copy them almost entire:

"My acquaintance with Nathaniel Colver began about the year 1855 (1856), when I was a youth of sixteen. The First Baptist Church of Cincinnati had called him to their pastorate, and after a careful survey of the field he had accepted their invitation. For the previous ten years they had enjoyed the labors of Rev. Daniel Shepardson, a man of liberal culture and indefatigable energy. By the most untiring efforts, he had succeeded in erecting an excellent house of worship. It was located in a sparsely-settled district of the city, although since then the population has increased so rapidly in that quarter that the site is one of the best in the city for church purposes. After the resignation of Mr. Shepardson, the church became somewhat dispirited and discouraged. The members of the church were poor and uninfluential. They were chiefly hard-working mechan-

ics, or tradesmen not very firmly established in business. When the name of Mr. Colver was mentioned it seemed to many a hazardous undertaking to call such a man to the pastorate, necessitating the offer of a much larger salary than they had been accustomed to raise. After careful deliberation the call was extended, and in due time Mr. Colver was on the ground.

"I remember well my first impression of the man. His imposing appearance in the pulpit, and the majestic manner in which he conducted the services, impressed me deeply. He had occasion, the first time I heard him, to request the choir to omit one or two stanzas of a hymn. He spoke in a loud, commanding tone, much in the same manner that a military man issues an order to his troops, and with such a conscious sense of authority, that I remember turning to a friend by my side and saying, 'Well, he intends to be master here, any how.' At this time Mr. Colver was in his prime as a public speaker. True, he was sixty years of age, but his powerful physical frame had not succumbed in the least to the pressure of years. He was full of vigor, and his natural force not one whit abated. His intellectual strength was something marvelous. He had the logical faculty to a

remarkable degree, and his memory was stored with an inexhaustible stock of anecdote, and quaint and pithy illustration. He was especially rich in expounding the Scriptures. If such a thing be possible, I think he must have been an expository genius. I have never heard a man who was able to pour such a flood of light on the sacred page as he. His sermons reminded one of one of those immense overshot water-wheels, which we occasionally see upon an old-fashioned country mill-site. When the water is turned on, the wheel turns very slowly at first, but gathering strength at each revolution, it increases in velocity and power, until it reaches its maximum and rolls on with mighty sweep until the work is done. So it was with Mr. Colver's preaching. He never aroused or startled one at first, after the manner of ambitious but little men, but gradually he gathered strength, as the inspiration of his theme poured upon him like a flood, until his sonorous and majestic eloquence became resistless, and when the end was reached, the hearer knew he had a clean grist, the finest flour from the finest wheat.

"Those who have heard Nathaniel Colver preach in his best days will not be surprised to learn that

his ministrations in Cincinnati attracted great attention from the first. Being a border city, Cincinnati had long been the scene of intensest excitement on the slavery question. The prevailing feeling was favorable to Southern institutions, but there was a strong antislavery sentiment in certain quarters, which was active and aggressive. Probably in no city in the Union were the lines more closely drawn, or the issues more clearly defined, than in Cincinnati. Multitudes of good people held the epithet of 'abolitionist' in the same abhorrence that they did the words 'infidel,' or 'horse-thief,' or 'murderer.' There had been numerous disturbances on various occasions in the past, when the friends of slavery used the most effective arguments against free speech and a free press by mobbing prominent antislavery men, and throwing their newspaper presses into the Ohio river.

"On the other hand, the underground railroad did as good business in forwarding runaway slaves to Canada from Cincinnati, as from any other city in the land. There were certain prominent antislavery men who did not hesitate to declare that they would violate the odious Fugitive Slave Law whenever opportunities offered. These bold utter-

ances tended to inflame the minds of the partisans of slavery, so that the lines on the vexed question were very closely drawn. Mr. Colver had hardly commenced his ministrations, when he publicly announced himself an abolitionist. The words "antislavery" and "free-soiler," by which many freedom-loving but timid men sought to designate their position, were too feeble for him. It was the fashion of a certain class of antislavery men, who would have no taint of suspicion rest upon their orthodoxy, to disclaim any sympathy or co-operation with the school of abolitionism of which William Lloyd Garrison was the most noted representative. But Mr. Colver disdained anything that looked at all like an apology for his position. He was willing that whatever odium attached to that name, "abolitionist," coming from whatever quarter, should attach to himself. He made no explanations or apologies, but planted himself squarely on the platform of abolitionism, and left the consequences to take care of themselves. The result of all was that he took at once a leading position among the ministers of the city. The old First Church never before, or since, numbered so many able and thoughtful men in its congregation as then. Mr. Colver announced a series of Sabbath evening

lectures on "Slavery as a Sin." The house was crowded to overflowing from the very first. The lectures were marvelous specimens of compact logic and burning eloquence. Mr. Colver spoke with all the earnestness of profound conviction. He was by turns closely argumentative and energetically denunciatory. He was humorous, pathetic. At times, his irony cut like a Damascus blade; at others, it tore in pieces and burned his opponents as when the lightning splinters an oak.

"I shall never forget one episode in these lectures. Mr. Colver took the position that the Fugitive Slave Law was a flagrant outrage upon the laws of God, and as such, Christian men ought not to render obedience to it. One of his hearers became so much excited at this, that he called out audibly, 'That is nothing but rank treason!' Mr. Colver heard the words, and pausing in his discourse, he drew himself to his full height, and looking keenly at the man for a moment, he said, in his most majestic tones, '*Treason to the devil is loyalty to God.*' His words and manner produced a wonderful effect upon the congregation. An indescribable thrill ran through it. I saw men turn pale with excitement, and it was a common remark afterwards: 'Mr. Colver made my blood

run cold.' A distinguished citizen of Cincinnati, who witnessed the scene, afterwards told me that he had heard all the prominent orators of the day, but he never before heard anything in public-speaking which could truthfully be called sublime. Said he, 'It was far finer than the reply ascribed by Wirt to Patrick Henry, when the cry of "Treason!" was raised against him in the Virginia House of Burgesses.'

"During the autumn of 1856, Mr. Colver commenced a protracted meeting, and continued it until the summer of 1857. He preached every evening during the week except Saturday evening, for months. He exhibited powers of endurance during this meeting which were really wonderful. He had but very little help from abroad. Occasionally some minister visiting in the city would preach and thus relieve him for an evening or two, but in the main the burden fell on him alone. He had no sympathy with the popular hue and cry for short sermons. When he undertook to discuss a theme, he generally required an hour to exhibit its various phases, and impress its lessons upon his congregation. He always loaded his sermons heavily, and they rarely failed of hitting the mark, and doing execution. He found his

inspiration in his theme. The grandest sermons I ever heard him preach were delivered before small congregations on rainy week-day evenings. A prayer-meeting followed the revival sermons, and perhaps an inquiry meeting would follow the prayer-meeting, so that Mr. Colver rarely retired to rest until midnight, during the whole course of the meetings.

"The results were glorious. The church were melted down with contrition for their past coldness and inconstancy, and a tender spirit of consecration to Jesus animated every heart. The meetings were characterized by profound solemnity and deep emotion. It seemed, sometimes, as if the very walls must trickle with tears, under the pathos of the preacher's appeals. Sinners of all classes were awakened, converted, and received into the church. A large number of the Sabbath-School were baptized, as well as young men and young women, heads of families, and even old men, who had wasted the best part of their lives in rebellion against God. I cannot give the number of additions to the church. Suffice it to say that the cause was greatly strengthened. The converts added largely to the working force of the church. This period is one of the brightest in its

history, and so long as any of the older members live, the story of Mr. Colver's marvelous sermons, and their results through the blessing of God, will be rehearsed.

"In the autumn of 1857 that wonderful work of grace, known as 'The Great Awakening," spread through the land. Union meetings were held in Cincinnati; the various ministers of the city preaching in turn. A systematic visitation of the neglected and destitute was commenced, and resulted in greatly increasing the attendance at the meetings. Mr. Colver favored all these plans for carrying the Gospel to the masses, and did much in his own church towards inspiring his people with a zeal for systematic work in tract and Sunday-School visitation. He was always ready to fill his place as preacher in the Union meetings, although his bold and outspoken advocacy of his peculiar views did not always meet with the favor of all his hearers. His church was greatly blessed during this winter, as were almost all the other churches of the city. The religious interest was marked in all classes of society, and nundreds were added to the churches."

A note bearing date "Cincinnati, Nov. 18th, 1856," informs Mr. Colver of his election as ar

honorary, ex-officio member of the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association of that city. Another, dated July 14, 1857, gives him notice that he has been chosen a member of the Board of Trustees of Fairmount Theological Seminary, "and also made chairman of a committee, with Rev. E. A. Crawley, and Rev. D. Shepardson, to define the duties of Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy and Principal of the Preparatory Department" in the Seminary. About the same date he was offered by the Board of the Home Mission Society, in New York, the post of District Secretary for the West. This he declined. While the question of acceptance was pending, he received the following, signed by thirty young members of his church; one of those testimonials of love and confidence so grateful to a pastor's heart:

CINCINNATI, JUNE, 1857.

REV. NATHANIEL COLVER.—*Dearly beloved Pastor*: We have heard with heartfelt sorrow that while you were at Boston, the Baptist Home Mission Convention called you to a new field of labor, and that your acceptance of such would necessarily deprive us of all the important advantages accruing to us from your continuous watch-care, teaching, and affectionate counsel, as our pastor.

Dear sir, in the kind providence of a gracious God, a new relation has sprung up between you and us. We look upon you as our father in Christ Jesus, and we flatter ourselves with the persuasion that you love us as your *own* dear children. A few weeks since, and we each indulged the fond hope that our fellowship in this endeared connection would continue unbroken, until holier

associations in a purer world should open on our unfettered spirits. Until then, we feel that we cannot do without you. None other could supply your place to us. Our position is a peculiar one; lately delivered from the dominion of the arch-enemy of souls, our way is one of perils, exposed to the attacks of a wily adversary, in danger from our sinful hearts. To you we would naturally and confidentially look for counsel, to whom, in our transition, when the burden of our sins was too grievous to be borne, our whole souls were uncovered.

Dear sir, we feel that we are children, and foolish, and ignorant, and that you (our father in the Gospel) are preeminently the one to whom we can look up, and in whose affectionate care and counsel we can confide. Praying that in your further investigation of this important matter you will allow the claims of your children to have *due* weight, and that our Heavenly Father may direct you to determine in accordance with his will, that his name may be glorified, we subscribe ourselves your affectionate children in Christ Jesus.

The degree of Doctor of Divinity was given to Mr. Colver by Granville College, now Denison University, soon after his settlement in Cincinnati. It was a fitting recognition, not only of eminent public services, but also of those qualities as a minister of the truth which had surmounted the disadvantages of defective early training and had placed him among the foremost Biblical teachers of his time.

It may well be presumed that though occupied as we have seen in the special duties of his charge at Cincinnati, Dr. Colver was no less watchful than formerly of the public events transpiring, especially those bearing upon interests of reform long dear to him. The agitation consequent upon the

introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, in Congress; the remarkable series of events connected with the early occupation of what is now the State of Kansas; the attempt by John Brown, in his attack upon Harper s Ferry, in Virginia, to inaugurate, through precisely in what way has never been clear, some movement tending to the immediate abolition of slavery; — these, with the omens of pending collision implied in them, and growing more threatening year by year, commanded his earnest attention. He bore his full share, also, in the enlightenment of the public mind upon what seemed to him true and right upon all these subjects, holding it as one material part of his duty as a Christian minister to explain and defend the principles of true Christian citizenship, and show the bearings of Christian doctrine and precept in all the relations of human life. As an example of his method in treating these subjects, and as also an interesting incident in itself, we copy here in full his letter to Governor Wise, of Virginia,* written while the fate of John Brown, already taken prisoner, was still in suspense. The reader will not fail to observe in it a prophetic

*First published in the "Journal and Messenger," of Cincinnati.

tone, justified in a remarkable degree by subsequent events.

Hon. Henry A. Wise: Dear Sir: — Pardon this intrusion of a stranger upon your attention. Being but an humble minister of the gospel of Christ, I can plead no exalted position as my title to your patience with what I have to say. Your own position is my apology for addressing you. You have in your hands a prisoner, the disposal of whom will affect yourself and others far more seriously than the prisoner himself. Precisely the same qualities of mind and heart which gave to the noble Lafayette a nation's gratitude and a deathless fame, now threaten John Brown with a gallows. There is no necessity of a detailed presentation of the analogy between the two cases. To your very great credit, there are many striking indications that you have already perceived the moral resemblance of the two cases. I have no doubt your own noble heart has already suggested the superior claims of the latter to the esteem of all good and impartial men. However wanting, at least in human wisdom, John Brown may be, if he dies on the scaffold, he will die a pure and noble martyr to liberty,— to sympathy for poor, crushed, degraded, and wronged humanity. Aye, for the very principle which brought his prototype to our shores, and for which our noble sires periled their lives, their fortunes and their honors. Now, so far as he is concerned, I have little anxiety. If he dies, God will take care of his soul, and posterity will take care of his *name*.

But, sir, there are others beside John Brown and his immediate friends concerned in this matter. The great heart of humanity the world over, throbs in John Brown's bosom. The hand that sheds its blood will be held by *that* world as a universal fratricide. God and humanity must die, or that act will be avenged. The impartial and unchanging laws of Jehovah's empire must change, or that act will be avenged. "Slow, but sure," marks the government of God. Earth's foulest blot, the great anomaly of a nation of professed vindicators of the inherent and inalienable rights of manhood, with their heel upon the necks of three millions of their fellow-men, may indeed have sapped the prudence and discretion of John Brown. It may overturn the intellect and unsettle the brain of the large-hearted Geritt Smith. It may yet drive thousands to acts of rashness and even madness. Solomon says, "oppression makes a wise man mad." But it will never unsettle the mind of Jehovah, nor impede in its progress the great wheel of justice. I believe it is no new thing in the world's history, that oppression inflicts madness upon others for the cure of itself, a dreadful remedy for a terrible disease. Should John Brown be hung, I have no doubt even in that event "the wrath of man

shall praise God," and through the over-rulings of his providence be made to further the cause of humanity. That single act will make more than ten thousand John Browns all over the land, not excepting the South. As I said before, the great heart of the world's humanity beats in the bosom of John Brown. Stop its pulsation there, and the world, all that is worth naming in it, will rebound from the paralysis, and spring into an activity hitherto unknown. If John Brown, who could bury the brutal murder of his noble sons in his purer, larger, and more noble sympathy for the poor, crushed slaves; if John Brown, who with his twenty men could hold Virginia in check, and only surrender to the United States troops, and who when he knew his own friends while helpless prisoners, were being brutally murdered, was yet kind and considerate toward his enemies who were in his hands; if such a man is made to die on the gallows, thenceforward that gallows will be a cross,—a *cross* omnipotent for the gospel of liberty. His death will be the beginning of the end.

As a lover of man, as a lover of freedom, in all this I see nothing to fear. Above all this, above the storm, above the cloud, in the region of God's impartial holiness, in the *just* government of his affairs, all is calm, all is serene. The *end* is right. Impartial justice will be done. Even in this world the peaceful reign of Christ shall abolish all distinctions that have their origin in human selfishness, and that have their support from adventitious power.

But, my dear sir, the concern which induces me to trouble you with this, is from another source. Those scenes which had their origin at Harper's Ferry, and their *denouement* at Charlestown have an interest aside from and beyond all these considerations. To these higher considerations, I beg your attention. Justice has its changeless foundation in changeless rights. Injustice is the violation of those rights, and whether perpetrated under the pretext of law, and the sanctions of human governments, or against law, it is injustice still. No official tampering can change its character in the sight of God, and all injustice *God will avenge.* John Brown is a good man, a noble man. He is no traitor to any law which God sanctions. If he dies, he will die for the noblest emotional principle that ever inspired man. If he dies, he will die a martyr to the rights of our common nature. While human governments are "a terror to evil-doers," they have the sanction of God; but for *any* wrong inflicted upon the least of his creatures, they must one day reckon with justice on the same ground as the meanest slave. Nor will the wrong be *divided* by their concrete action. It will be multiplied, in its abstract wholeness, into each individual actor. The following syllogism will set this matter in a fair light:

In the death of John Brown, Virginia murders a good man. The act is multiplied into every voluntary participant. Every voluntary participant is responsible for the deed.

My dear sir, I pray God his blood be not found in your skirts. John Brown is physically imperiled. But yourself and all the actors with you in that matter are morally imperiled. Of the two, your danger is infinitely the greatest. To die for principle is not dreadful. To die for sympathy for poor, crushed, and down-trodden humanity is not dreadful. But to shed the blood of such a one is quite another thing. To shed the blood of such a one that thereby the hands of the oppressor may be made strong, is a deed that shall find no covering, neither from the sheltering wing of human governments, nor from the rocks or the mountains in the day of God.

My dear sir, it is for you, not John Brown, I plead. Spare yourself. I know not that it is in your power to save him. *But if it is in your power* to save him, and he dies, the day of his death is the day of your doom. The death-warrant of John Brown will convict both the hangman and its author in the day when God shall make inquisition for blood. That day that sees John Brown on the scaffold, sees your horizon obscured by a cloud that no sun shall ever chase from your skies. No matter with what scenes you may surround yourself, from that day the grappling iron of your own doom will have fastened upon your soul. Thence onward, John Brown, with his calm, honest, loving, serene, but sorrowing face, is to be your companion. Waking or sleeping, at home or abroad, that strange man who could forget vengeance for the cruel murder of his own sons, in his compassion for the poor slave, is to be your companion. You shall see that patient face in the sparkling cup of earthly pleasure. You shall hear the soft foot-fall of his gentle spirit around your domestic board, reminding you of the home you have made desolate. And in that last lone hour, to which we are all hastening, when the summons shall come which calls you to your last account, the voice of John Brown will strangely mingle with that summons. And to that dread account the scenes of Virginia will follow you. There the weak will be as the strong. There the wrong-doers, and the wronged ones of the earth will stand together before the impartial Judge. There the blasphemies of those who have spurned the higher law, will be hushed forever, and justice will fulfil her pledge to the universe.

These are not chimeræ of a distempered imagination. The things that God has said in his word are verities. There is a world where the fictitious distinctions of earth are unknown, and where *justice reigns*. I think of you as a man. I love you as a brother-man. God forgive me if it is not in my heart to do good to my brother men involved in the meshes and even guilt of slavery, with as tender and self-sacrificing zeal as I would to any friends I have on earth. I love John Brown. I revere him as a noble specimen of my race. He may die a victim to partial and unjust legislation. But I rather envy than regret his lot. I trust

that he who made the noble victims of Roman law and Philippian magistrates to sing in their prison at midnight, will not forget John Brown in his American Philippi. But I have not the same comfort for those who are seeking his blood. I fear the day of his death will be the day that seals their ruin. My dear sir, Brown is already saved. Save yourself. Slavery is madly rushing upon its own doom. You can not save that. In God's name, save yourself.

With very great respect, I remain your friend and humble servant, NATHANIEL COLVER.

In the year 1861, Dr. Colver, begining to feel the infirmities of advancing years, having now reached the age of sixty-six, and health being somewhat broken by the strain of constant and exciting public labor, decided to accept an invitation to the less laborious field offered him by the Baptist Church in the pleasant city of Woodstock, Illinois, near which he had a farm. With this decision his work in Cincinnati during five fruitful years came to a close. During this period his personal acquaintance with churches, and with all denominational interests in the West had been much enlarged. In cases where difficult church questions were to be settled, as in that of the Baptist Church in Keokuk, Iowa, and its pastor, Rev. Mr. Allen, who had embraced open-communion views, his counsel was eagerly sought and greatly valued. He always stood, on such occasions, equally firm for church independency and for the integrity of the whole Baptist system. The prin-

ciples avowed in his earlier ministry, touching the mutual relations of councils and churches, were held and maintained by him in these later years. All *authority*, under Christ, he found in the church. Councils he held to be for purposes of advice and assistance only, and he was jealous of all those tendencies which he believed himself to have at times detected, to invade, in the interest of such measures, the New Testament prerogative of the New Testament church. Nor did his warm sympathy with free and manly thought, or his cordial fellowship with Christians of all names, render him the less strenuous in maintaining the Scripture standard, as the invariable rule of faith and practice. The argument in favor of what is termed open-communion never had the least weight with him, and when, as in the case at Keokuk, occasion so demanded, he maintained the strict Baptist doctrine on the subject, holding that no minister could believe and teach open-communion and be with either consistency or safety retained as the pastor of a strict-communion Baptist church.

CHAPTER XII.

LATEST PASTORATES—THEOLOGICAL TEACHING.
1861-1867.

Dr. Colver's pastorates at Woodstock and at Chicago may be treated as one. At the first-named place, whither he removed early in 1861, he remained only a few months. The change from a larger to a smaller charge, with the consequent lessening of labor and responsibility, was a relief to him. His more rural surroundings also were an attraction; while in the church, and the social circle connected with it, he found choice spirits like-minded with himself, and cordial in their devotion to him as the leader of the flock. But brethren in Chicago, learning that he had left Cincinnati, felt that he was needed at the center of Northwestern life and movement. The Tabernacle Church in that city had from its beginning been marked for its steadfastness in the principles of reform, and its devotion to those interests now

brought to the ordeal of war and suffering. It was a time when, in church and state, the champions were searched out and called to the front. In such circumstances it was plainly impossible that one whose name stood associated with the history of the antislavery struggle from its beginning, and to whom scarcely less than to any other man the progress in public sentiment upon the subject was due, should now, at the moment of crisis, remain in retirement. The church also felt sure that in Dr. Colver they should find the pastor and preacher they had for months been seeking. They had contended long with the embarassments of a disadvantageous location, and hoped to find in the ministry of a man so eminent the impulse that would inaugurate a new career.

The urgency of these considerations left Dr. Colver scarcely room for doubt. After a few months residence in Woodstock, accordingly, he accepted the call of the church in Chicago and removed to that city. His ministry in this, his last stated pastorate, was less marked by revival effects than most of his former ones had been, yet in other respects was fruitful and memorable. There were many things to divert attention, and to hinder the best result of the truth preached. It was

a period of civil war, with its excitements and perils, its public and private calamities. The pulpit had its patriotic duty, like all other posts of public service. If the old questions needed no longer to be discussed in their abstract merits, they required to be applied, in their political as well as other results, to the exigencies of the hour. War policy meant very much more than simply the surest road to victory. It meant the triumph or the defeat of great principles. It must issue in freedom or enslavement; in the perpetuation or the ruin of the Republic. The question it involved was that of seizing or missing the great providential opportunity, and realizing or losing the proffered providential deliverance. If the integrity of a nation was never before so fearfully imperiled, it is certain that never before, in the history of mankind, had the principles involved been of such moment to every highest interest of humanity and the world. The Christian pastor could not well mistake his duty in such an exigency; while, to the public advocacy of those views of national policy and of moral and religious right which from time to time became the pivots upon which great events turned, there was joined that other service, always demanded of the pastor,

and never more than in a time of war and of general suffering. The angel of sorrow left few households wholly unvisited, and wherever he came it was needful that the angel of consolation should follow him. In none of these spheres of either public or private service was Dr. Colver ever found lacking. His views of national policy were those of the most advanced friends of freedom. He urged emancipation as a measure of war and an act of justice, equally. He believed that as slavery had taken the sword it should perish with the sword. As time went on, he advocated the successive measures adopted both for defending and for securing the Union which, in the interest of slavery, had been assailed; and insisted always that while in this collision of North and South the opportunity should be seized for giving freedom to the blacks, these, themselves, after being freed, should be protected both against the mistakes of their own blind impulses, and against the plots or open attacks of those who might wish them harm. Hence the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln was to him a crowning joy, while in the measures of Congress intended to guard the rights and welfare of the

freedmen he felt and manifested the warmest interest.

Circumstances like these now noticed are not best suited to favor pastoral and ministerial labor in its customary spheres. Accordingly we have simply to say of Dr. Colver's ministry in Chicago that while rich as ever in doctrinal instruction and in spiritual quickening, and while by no means without fruit in converts and ingatherings, it had not the conspicuous results of which it has been our privilege to speak as seen in other places where he had labored. The closing period of his pastorate was marked by an incident of the greatest interest and importance to the church. With the removal of the First Church from its location at the corner of Washington and La Salle streets, the sale of the ground there, and the sharing out, to a considerable extent, of its property among the other churches of the city, may be dated an era in the history of Chicago Baptists. Perhaps the most important, certainly the most fruitful, of the contributions thus made to the resources of the sister churches, was that which became the occasion of putting the Tabernacle Church upon a basis wholly new, and of starting it upon a course of prosperity unexampled in its previous history.

The house occupied by the First Church, at the point it was now leaving — an excellent brick structure — erected only a few years before during the pastorate of Dr. J. C. Burroughs, was, with its furniture and appurtenances of every kind, given to the Tabernacle Church. A large number of members of the First Church living upon the west side of the river where the Tabernacle Church was located, a considerable proportion of these, including some of the oldest, most valued and most useful of the First Church membership, decided to unite with the Tabernacle Church at a new and more favorable point, jointly chosen, and removing the house, donated as we have seen, to this point, set up a new banner in the name of the Lord. This arrangement was effected under auspices the most gratifying. The house was taken down, removed to the new location at the corner of Morgan and Monroe streets, and there re-erected, with improvements then and since made which render it one of the most attractive houses of worship in the city. The Tabernacle Church, with the members, some sixty in number, of the First Church proposing to join them, united in a new organization which, taking the name of the Second Baptist Church of Chicago, has now,

with God's blessing, won a title to be named with the largest, most enterprising, most widely influential of the Baptist Churches of America.

While these changes were in progress Dr. Colver retained his pastorate of the Tabernacle Church He felt, however, that the new church now formed should have a new pastor, a younger man, able to undertake a service impossible to one who had already reached his three-score years and ten. It was, therefore, with his most cheerful acquiescence that the joint church called to its pastorate Rev. E. J. Goodspeed, of Janesville, Wisconsin. He welcomed the new pastor to his field with cordial words, publicly spoken, and ever after, to the end of his own life, co-operated with him in every way made practicable by his influence among the members of the church, rejoicing not less than any other in the signal success which attended his ministry.

Meantime, providential openings had offered themselves for a more exclusive devotion to a sphere of service to which, as we have seen, Dr. Colver's attention had already been directed. The movement for the founding of a Theological Seminary at Chicago, or at least at some central point in the Northwest, may be dated as far back as

1859. In May and in November of that year Conventions were held at Chicago and at Indianapolis, largely attended by brethren taking a leading part in the educational work and plans of the Denomination in the West, and at which the question was discussed of proceeding to found, as a joint undertaking by all the Western and Northwestern States, a Seminary, in which the work of strictly theological education, upon this field, should be concentrated. It was a measure of great importance, and based upon sound principles; but it soon became evident that what was to be done in this direction must be without prearranged combination. Views of brethren were conflicting as to the point at which such an institution should be located, while its relations to the colleges already founded involved questions of a delicate nature with which the minds of many were not yet prepared to deal. The work of endowment, besides, was one which the Denomination in the West could not, then, formally undertake. Other educational enterprises were still more or less in their incipiency, and Baptist resources were taxed all they could bear in providing even what was necessary to save these from shipwreck. The agitation of the

subject, nevertheless, was of service. It called attention to questions underlying the whole denominational work in education, and inaugurated principles sound in themselves, and destined, in time, to work themselves out, although not upon that precise basis.

The measures entered upon in Chicago in the year 1860, may be properly viewed as one effect of the movement we have been considering. No large attendance of brethren was secured at the preliminary meeting called and held; nor was this essential, in view of the fact, recognized from the first, that whatever should be builded in the nature proposed must be a growth from small beginnings. The Baptist Union for Theological Education, organized in 1861 and incorporated by act of legislature in 1863, had not above a dozen members at the outset, and in its treasury were scarcely funds sufficient to buy stationery for its correspondence. It was, however, the identical organization which has since founded the Baptist Union Theological Seminary, now ranking deservedly with the foremost schools of this class, of whatever denomination, in the country.

Dr. Colver felt from the beginning a deep interest in the founding of this Seminary. We have

before spoken of the views held by him upon the subject of theological education in general. We have also alluded to the fact that he had become distrustful of many things which he saw in the theological tendencies of the age. Probably he overrated the importance of the signs which he believed himself to have detected, of swerving from the strict biblical standard. Some of these signs he may have misread. Be that as it may, his leading thought was one which no sound Christian thinker will call in question. He held that theological instruction should rest squarely upon the inspired Scriptures; that the doctrines taught should be, not the workings out of human reason, but the direct and distinct communication of the Spirit, speaking in the Word; that the ministry should be trained in a mastery of Scripture truth as studied in its Scripture statement, and taught to preach, not moral and religious generalities, but "as the truth is in Jesus," the Gospel, distinctively, as God's method of salvation, with all its exaltation of divine sovereignty, all its humbling of human pride. Finding that a school of the prophets was laying its foundations in what had providentially become his own field of labor, he became peculiarly interested in it, as

affording him opportunity to impress upon those having this work in charge, and perhaps upon the foundation stones of the institution itself, those convictions so long cherished, so ardently held.

To a great extent those who had undertaken the management of this enterprise sympathized with Dr. Colver in his views. Certainly, the general principle advocated by him, could not be questioned. They may have taken a more hopeful view of the theological indications of the time, yet were prepared to sympathize with and second his desire that the Seminary to be founded at Chicago should teach a *biblical* theology, in the emphatic sense contemplated by Dr. Colver himself. As it grew apparent that his connection with the church he was serving would soon close, he was invited to inaugurate the work of teaching, by gathering a class. This he accordingly did, in 1865, meeting the class in his study at the Tabernacle church. In the following year, Prof. J. C. C. Clarke having been associated with him, two classes were formed, at the University, numbering twelve students. In the fall of 1867, Dr. Colver resigned his connection with the Seminary to enter upon the work to which he had been invited at Richmond, Virginia. Prof. Clarke becoming

pastor of the Baptist Church in Madison, Wisconsin, a new organization of the Seminary Faculty was effected; Rev. G. W. Northrup, D. D., of the Rochester Theological Seminary, being called to the chair of Theology, and Rev. J. B. Jackson, of Albion, N.Y., to the chair of Ecclesiastical History. Rev. G. S. Bailey, D.D., accepting at the same time the post of Corresponding and Financial Secretary, the work of founding and endowing was resumed under new auspices.

As indicating the close and warm relations subsisting between Dr. Colver and his class we copy, here, the following:

CHICAGO, SEPT. 27, 1867.

DR. COLVER.—*Respected Sir:* You have indeed been a father in Israel to us, your former pupils. Our gathering around the study-table the past year, as theological students, under your care, has been the means of our gaining truth, the very foundation of the doctrines of Redemption, through Christ Jesus. We feel that we have put our hands to the plough that you have set deep for us, and we have no intention of looking back. We ask of our old teacher and counsellor this favor, viz., that the lectures, now existing only in manuscript, may be published in convenient form, that not only your own students may thus possess them, but that also the great truths therein unfolded may be given to the world as plain scriptural truths.

DE FOREST SAFFORD,	E. O. TAYLOR,
HENRY C. MABIE,	J. T. SUNDERLAND,
ROBERT LESLIE, JR.,	T. GEO. MCLEAN
L. T. BUSH,	JOHN GORDON,
E. P. SAVAGE,	R. E. NEIGHBOR.

Dr. Colver took, as the basis of his lectures, the Epistle to the Romans. His method was, not

simply an exposition of the book, but an unfolding of the system of doctrine there contained, aiming especially to define, establish and develop the doctrine of redemption by Christ. He looked upon this doctrine as the fundamental part of Christian Theology; that upon this all else rests, and is to be explained and understood in relation to it. His lectures, while based upon the single inspired book named, viewed the apostolic teaching there in connection with Scripture generally, while the truths unfolded were discussed in their relations with theological truth as a whole, with those methods of preaching best suited to impress the heart and mind of the hearer, and with current tendencies of religious thought. He brought to the illustration of his themes a large and rich experience in the ministry of the same truth, intimate knowledge and keen insight of human nature in its thousand-fold phases and forms, and a heart gushing with spiritual tenderness. The class-room was often a Bethel, a very House of God. His students not only acquired understanding of the truth, they also learned to love it and to feel that there can be no happiness, and no honor, in this world, equal to that of him who is called to preach Christ to men. The theology

taught was thoroughly Calvinistic; that which Dr. Colver had himself preached, all his life long, not, however, with the slightest antinomian tendency, but as recognizing human responsibility equally with divine sovereignty, and so interpreting the Gospel as that it may with propriety and consistency be preached "to every creature." It is not too much to say that those who enjoyed the benefit of these instructions took from them impressions which they can never lose; which, whether they serve as missionaries abroad, or as pastors at home, they will find prompting, guiding and inspiring them to the latest day of their life and their ministry.

During the year in which Dr. Colver met his class at the University, he officiated also as temporary pastor of the Fifth Baptist Church. It was a year, to that church, rich in memorials of God's presence, and of the sweetness and power of the Gospel. Conversions were frequent, while every department of church-work put on new vigor. In each part of his own work—in the pulpit and the class-room—he himself seemed to find great delight. If the call of providence had not summoned him elsewhere, he would gladly have finished his life and his service for Christ even

thus. He seemed, also, to be full of spiritual joyfulness; happy in his home, and in his work, and in the constant fellowship of his soul with his Saviour. Among his papers we find these verses, composed at some time during the period now under consideration. One could easily believe them written by one of the quaint, sweet poets of an hundred years ago. They are headed,

POOR WHIP-POOR-WILL, (Job xxxv, 10.)

'T is night, and far o'er hill and dale
The gloomy shades of night prevail;
List to those notes, so soft, so shrill,—
It is the plaint of Whip-poor-will,
Whip-poor-will;
Till morning's dawn, so soft, so shrill,
Gushes the song of Whip-poor-will,
Whip-poor-will.

Thus I, a wandering pilgrim here,
Where nights are long, and lone, and drear;
My heart with notes, as soft, as shrill,
Catches the song of Whip-poor-will,
Whip-poor-will
Till morning dawn, as sad, as shrill,
I pour the plaint of Whip-poor-will,
Whip-poor-will.

What time my Father lifts the rod,
I pour the penitential flood,
But still with voice more soft, more shrill,
I sing the song of Whip-poor-will
Whip-poor-will;
I kiss the rod, I love it still,
And chant the song of Whip-poor-will,
Whip-poor-will.

And when the evening shades of death
Shall darkly gather o'er my path,
In dying strains, as soft, as shrill,
I 'll sing the song of Whip-poor-will,
Whip-poor-will;
The dawn of Heaven my soul shall fill,
And end the song of Whip-poor-will,
Whip-poor-will.

For O, when nights and tears are past,
My soul at home in Heaven, at last,
I 'll sing with voice more soft, more shrill,
The grace that saved poor Whip-poor-will,
Whip-poor-will;
All Heaven shall hear me singing still
The grace that saved poor Whip-poor-will,
Whip-poor-will.

Among the names signed to the testimonial presented to Dr. Colver upon the occasion of his taking leave of the class he had gathered in Chicago, is that of R. E. Neighbor, now a missionary in Assam, India. We may conclude this chapter with the following extract from a letter written by him upon receiving intelligence of Dr. Colver's decease:

"Precious in memory are the very many hours I spent with him; hours of strengthening, of invigoration of one's spiritual life; where advice was given that will never be forgotten, and explanations of passages of Scripture, that made them instinct with meaning now, though misun-

derstood previously. I shall remember him as a rare expositor. He not only had a very wise way of putting his thought, but he ever had at command some illustration with which to make it still clearer. He often said to his class, with regard to their preaching, 'Not only drive the nail home, but *clinch* it,' something, I venture to say, none of us will ever equal him in doing. The power of his illustrations lay in the fact that they were drawn from his own experience, which was very rich, and were all so simple, so *homely*, if I may use such an expression. Taken from real life, they were recited with all the freshness of a yesterday's occurrence, and were seldom forgotten.

"I have frequently found sermons of his, preached years ago, still vivid in the recollections of his hearers. He was, certainly, a powerful preacher. I have often wished I could have heard him in the days of his Boston ministry. It would have been a treat to see him in his best days. He told me once it was easy work for him to preach, and that when he was in the pulpit he felt like a carpenter at his bench, whose tools are all spread before him, and who needs only to put out his hand and take any tool he wants. Thought and illustration came to him just as he wanted them,

and without confusion. This, no doubt, arose from his complete mastery of his subject, and his intense conviction of its truth. He believed, and therefore spake. His faith gave him fidelity, courage, and he would bear down upon error and errorists with unsparing force. It was no light matter to be his opponent in debate on any principle he held vital. Whatever principle sound logic carried him to, there he fearlessly stood, and announced it. But it was wrong to charge him with bitterness of feeling. He had a heart as tender as a child's. When he opposed an errorist, and made him feel the full force of his logic, he had no hostility to his person any further than as associated with error. He fought the doctrine, and not the man, and I am confident that he has been grossly misrepresented in this by those who clung to their error, being wiser in their own conceit than seven men who like him could render a reason. He would have treated his own son as unsparingly as any one, if he had thought him departing from sound doctrine.

"Even though sometimes wrong himself, one cannot but admire that honesty toward himself and his convictions which made him so bold a champion. *Truth* was of paramount importance

with him, and it is not strange that men of a different mould should dislike him. I love the men, notwithstanding the faults which they must commit sometimes from the honest boldness of their disposition, who are not afraid to espouse a weak cause which they regard as *right*, because it will make them unpopular. They are to be loved and honored of every generation. Dr. Colver was one of those sturdy men whom many think they disgrace by calling them '*Radical.*' It has always pained me to hear him charged with unkindness and bitterness by his opponents, when I knew he was tender as a child and would stoop to the lowest. If any man had a mellow heart, he had, and often, as we talked together, his eyes would fill with tears. Now he has gone to his rest, but his name remains associated with some of the most interesting events of American Baptist history. To me, personally, he lingers in memory as a very dear friend, and father in the Lord."

CHAPTER XIII.

AMONG THE FREEDMEN. 1867–1870.

The emancipation of the Southern slaves was an event charged with the gravest consequences. To liberate, in the heart of a nation, four millions of persons subject all their lives to those conditions which slavery, even its mildest form, imposes, was to hazard much in the interests of right and of duty. Not only to that section of the republic where those freed persons must have their homes, but to the entire commonwealth such an event could not fail to bring many dangers, the issue of which would depend largely upon the manner in which the event itself should be used. The alternatives of policy were alike threatening, save so far as to do right is always safest. To hold these freed people in a condition of virtual serfdom, free in name but slaves in fact, by denying them the rights of freemen and of citizens, would be to disappoint their eager hopes, and in that same propor-

tion encourage amongst them all the elements of revolt and violence. To grant them their rights, while still ignorant and subject to the misguidance of selfish demagogues, or even the scarcely preferable guidance of their own blind impulses, involved another sort of peril. Meanwhile, if it be the mission of the strong to raise the weak, and make them strong, of the wise to guide the ignorant, it surely was the solemn duty of the republic to care for these millions, and to save them not only from those who would use them as instruments of partizanship or of personal ambition, but from themselves, and from the mistakes into which their undisciplined zeal and eagerness might carry them.

Never was the guidance of right religious teaching more needed than among the freedmen of the South after the war had closed. It would not be right to say that their religious instruction had been neglected during the years of their enslavement. Many masters were conscientiously careful and diligent in this regard, and Southern ministers by no means forgot that with the eternal destinies of these souls, also, they were put in charge. But the work was environed with difficulty. The continued existence of the insti-

tution itself had demanded that the slave should be kept in his own place as a slave, and that every manner of discipline adapted to develop manhood with its high aspirations and its strong impulses, should be held within defined limits. Besides, all masters were not, themselves, by any means, religious men; nor was it to be expected that those who placed no value upon Christian teaching, in their own case, should give themselves much care in providing it for their dependents. From one cause and another it resulted, as it could not fail to result, that the amount of intelligent religious instruction enjoyed by the blacks was small, and when with a stroke of President Lincoln's pen they were emancipated, it was the liberation, virtually, of a nation of heathen. What was to control them in the lack of those motives and restraints which religion brings? What could be needed more, especially for a people so impressible and impulsive, than a religious and moral guidance which should curb their wayward tendencies, and give that unaccustomed path into which they were entering, a right direction?

It was creditable to the patriotism, as well as to the religious zeal of the Christians of America, that they were not wanting to the exigency which had

thus arisen. For a time, the freedmen work was almost an absorbing interest with all denominations. The home missionary societies already existing took it vigorously in hand; new societies were organized; the Government co-operated in methods of its own; Southern Christians, themselves, saw the danger and the true way of escape; and so it came to pass that the colored citizen, as he began to act in that relation, found himself met by those who could show him how all such rights were exercised under a strict accountability to God, and could effectually warn him against converting the priceless boon he had received into a curse more to be dreaded than slavery itself. There were disorders; the period of transition was fraught with peril; demagogism and partizanship were not idle, but God carried the nation safely through, and a time came when the colored population of the South were no longer either a perplexity or a dread.

It was the organization of the National Baptist Theological Institute in the year 1866 that seems to have first distinctly suggested to Dr. Colver the thought of his own personal connection with freedmen work. A ministry educated and intelligent, of their own people, was plainly a chief

necessity of the colored population. To provide this was the purpose of the organization just named. Brethren honored in the churches everywhere, had connected themselves with it; Dr. Solomon Peck and Dr. J. W. Parker, as instructors; Dr. Wm. Hague, and Dr. J. D. Fulton as influential members of the Board of Managers, with others of like eminence. Soon after the society had entered fairly upon its work, attention was directed to Dr. Colver, as one eminently fitted, by his antecedents, by his sympathies, by his power as a biblical teacher, and his tact in addressing and influencing men, for the service needed in the department of instruction. While he was still occupied with his classes at Chicago the invitation reached him to enter the service of the Theological Institute, and to do for the freedmen that same work in which he was now engaged for the churches of the North. To his friends, who knew of physical infirmities which made rest and quiet seem more to be sought than a new sphere of anxious labor, the proposal at first appeared one not to be even entertained. It did not, however, so impress him. Any long continuance in such service he well knew to be out of the question. Health and life, however, might be so spared

as to permit him to *begin* what others would *finish*. It seemed, also, and this his most anxious friends could not deny, a fitting close to a career so largely devoted to the interests of the enslaved, now in the day of their freedom to become their guide and teacher in the things essential to a right use of the blessing they had found. After prayerful deliberation, he finally decided to resign his connection with the inchoate Seminary at Chicago, and give himself wholly to the work of educating ministers for the freedmen.

Dr. Colver was not allowed to depart from Chicago without some expression of the interest felt by brethren there, alike in himself personally, and in his new undertaking. In the evening of March 3, 1867, accordingly, a meeting largely attended was held at the Second Baptist church and addressed by various brethren, Rev. M. G. Clarke presiding. Pledges of pecuniary co-operation, as well as of sympathy and support otherwise, were freely made. In his diary Dr. Colver says, "The meeting was full of interest. It did my heart good."

Some months following were spent in visiting churches, East and West, in behalf of the Institute, and in conferences with the Board of the

Institute in Boston as well as that of the Home Mission Society in New York. The details of these preliminary labors cannot here be given. We must pass lightly, also, over incidents of successive visits to the South, previous to the final choice of Richmond as the seat of the school of which Dr. Colver was to have the charge. Richmond, Charleston, Beaufort, the Sea Islands, near the latter city, as well as Sulphur Springs in Virginia, were all visited. His diary, which in this case is quite full, records the profound impression made by the appearance of the country, especially about Charleston, and of that city itself also, scarcely yet beginning to recover from the desolation occasioned by the war. Various incidents are recorded, some of them connecting this period of his life in a way very interesting with others long past. While at Richmond, in the beginning of April, he writes:

> Preached in the morning at the First African Church, where thirty-five years ago I preached as a candidate. It was then a white church, with some five hundred whites and thirteen hundred blacks. I declined settling on account of slavery. O, what hath God wrought!

While at Port Royal, he received a visit from Dr. Brisbane, and says of him:

> He brought me a kind message from Rev. Wm. Brantly of

Augusta, which came through Dr. Babcock. He remembers the mutual esteem existing many years since between his honored father and myself, and wishes to renew the acquaintance. He sent me a kind invitation to visit him and preach for him. I would visit him before returning, if I had the means. I loved his father as I have loved but few men. *Dear, noble man!*

After returning from this journey and attending meetings of the Board in Boston, where it was decided to make Richmond the point for locating the school, while on his way back another interesting personal incident, reviving former times in a like way, occurred:

We arrived at Norfolk at six o'clock. Learning that a colored ministers' meeting was to be held on Wednesday at Portsmouth, I concluded to attend it. I put up at the Norfolk Hotel. On Tuesday, I called in the forenoon upon brother Henson, pastor of the colored Baptist church of Norfolk. I found him a Christian and a gentleman. He took me to call upon the Rev. Vincent Paler, a chaplain in the United States service. I discovered him to be an old acquaintance and friend, converted from a Methodist to a Baptist by a sermon he heard me preach in Poughkeepsie, in 1829. I found a most welcome home at his house until Saturday morning, when I left for Richmond.

May 13, 1867, Dr. Colver arrived in Richmond and began his work. The building first occupied was one that went by the name of Lumpkin's Jail, which had formerly been a slave-pen. Afterwards, the old United States Hotel, on lower Main Street, was purchased, and made the more permanent quarters of the school. This, however, was after

Dr. Colver's personal connection with it had been broken off by his rapidly failing health. An interesting indication of the spirit in which he began his work is seen in the following address to pastors and churches of the South, found among his papers:

In entering upon the work which we propose among you, it is due both to you and to ourselves that with all frankness we should state to you our purposes and our designs.

First, then, our purpose is to help the colored ministers of the South, to whom the colored churches now look for their spiritual food and instruction, to such literary and theological knowledge as shall enable them more efficiently to accomplish the work to which they are called. And also it is our purpose, to the extent of our ability, to educate such young men as shall seem to be called of God to the work of the ministry, and to train others with a view to their becoming the teachers and the educators of their race. *This* is *the* work we propose to do.

Second, we feel the more called to this work, in view of the calamities following the terrible war through which we have passed; by which the hands of both white and black have been weakened, and paralyzed in the South, rendering assistance from abroad indispensable in the accomplishment of the great work, and to the meeting of this great and imperative necessity. As the Father and the Son have taken us into the fellowship of blessing and saving poor, lost men, we feel ourselves pressed into this service.

Third, In entering upon, and in the prosecution of this work, we shall studiously aim to hold in the most delicate and Christian consideration the peculiar and we hope temporarily disrupted relations between the Baptist ministers and churches of the North and those of the South. We shall, on the one hand, avoid all obstrusiveness, and on the other we shall as studiously avoid placing any obstacle in the way of an early restoration of a heart-and-hand union in this, and in every good work to which as the

disciples of Christ we are called. We shall cherish a readiness to extend the helping hand whenever asked to do so, and to cordially receive the same, by whomsoever proffered, and to reciprocate every act of Christian courtesy with which we may be favored.

We are happy in every indication of increasing interest in this great work upon which we have entered; whether that indication is found in the recorded convictions of the public meetings, or of organized or individual courtesy or co-operation on the part of Southern ministers and churches. We suffer the conviction that a disruption so serious and so protracted as that with which our denomination has been afflicted will not be healed in a moment. But we also cherish the more happy conviction that, now that God in his kind providence has removed the *cause*, the result will cease. We firmly trust that this painful alienation will not last forever, but that the *pure*, *impartial*, *just* Gospel will soon so ingraft itself upon our hearts as to make us not only one in Christ Jesus, but also in this and in every enterprise the object of which is to carry forward the blessed work for which he made himself a sacrifice.

I beg to tender to all the personal assurance that while I leave to him in whose hands are the hearts of all the manner of its accomplishment, yet every act of mine shall studiously aim to promote the fraternal union of all states and of all localities, under the pure and peaceful reign of one holy and common Lord.

NATHANIEL COLVER.

Dr. Colver's work, at Richmond, was prosecuted with the same conscientious fidelity and the same whole-hearted earnestness which we have marked as characteristic of all his work. Oppressed with feeble health; sometimes by difficulty of breathing which made it impossible to lie down at night; conscious that in the community where he had planted himself the fact was remembered, commented upon, and not always interpreted in the

most friendly spirit, that in the old days of debate his voice had been one of the most emphatic in denouncing the institution whose wrong and evil was by no means even yet confessed; dealing with pupils whose ignorance required to be met more than half way, and to whom, therefore, it was necessary to teach the very elements of truth;— he still cheerfully accepted the situation in all its peculiarities, and went on his way from day to day quietly, steadily, unweariedly.

Strange as it may seem, he was at first met by a certain degree of suspicion on the part of colored men themselves. In an address delivered three years later at a meeting in Richmond, occasioned by Dr. Colver's death, Mr. Holmes, pastor of the First African Church in that city, said that when Dr. Colver came thither in 1867 he was suspicious of him, for his profession of love to the colored race appeared too strong to be heartfelt. But he added that after intimate association with the reverend man of God, he had found that his prac tice went beyond his words. "He and his family lived in the same house with Dr. Co ver, and the old gentleman would take their little boy on his lap, rock him to sleep and place him upon his own clean bed, and although the little fellow s

clothing was often sadly soiled with the mud of Lumpkin's alley. He recollected the Doctor's first sermon from a scaffold in the yard of Lumpkin's jail." Mr. Holmes exhorted his hearers to revere the memory of their great and unselfish benefactor, and to teach their children that to him they were vastly indebted, not merely for freedom, but for the instruction that gives freedom most of its value and all of its dignity.

Associating with himself other teachers to whom was committed the work of elementary education, in the more proper sense of that phrase, Dr. Colver devoted himself exclusively to such instruction as his pupils needed in the work of the ministry. Taking the epistle to the Romans as the basis of his lectures, he expounded the doctrines there found in their various branches and applications, adapting his method of teaching to the capacity and development of his pupils. Without offending them by making his communications too childish, he still brought himself to their level, gradually lifting them back towards his own. He was able to touch the sensibilities so lively in the colored race, and to enlist in the pursuits to which he led them all their enthusiasm. They learned to love him deeply, while hanging upon his lips as

their teacher with a reverence almost like what they would have felt for a veritable prophet. His work placed a foundation for the Institute at Richmond, and on this others, and particularly Rev. Charles H. Corey, who succeeded him, have since builded nobly.

It soon became evident, as Dr. Colver went on with this toil, that the unaccustomed climate, the anxiety, the excitement and the labor were too much for his already broken strength. He had been early joined by his daughter, Miss Mary B. Carter, and was now also by one of his sons, Mr. Phineas C. Colver, by both of whom he was aided in his teaching, while comforted also by their presence and their attentions. In June, 1868, he came North, health having so utterly failed as to make it impossible for him to continue. He was accompanied on his return by Miss Carter, and after arriving in New York, decided, before he should come back to the West, to visit once more valued friends in Whitehall and Burlington. Continuing his journey to Boston, he signalized his devotion to the school at Richmond by preaching upon the Sabbath both there and in Cambridgeport, in spite of his great prostration, and taking collections for its benefit.

On the way from Boston north, he paused for a brief visit at West Stockbridge, the scene of his youth and early manhood, his conversion, and first work in the ministry. At Whitehall, in Mr. William Cook and wife he found relatives whose sympathy and affection had for many years been to him a treasure of the heart. Arriving at Burlington, he made his home in the family of another dear friend, Mr. Lawrence Barnes. Thence he went on to Champlain, memorializing his visit there by the record in his diary which we have copied near the beginning of this book. Returning to Burlington, he received from Mr. Barnes a token of affection and appreciation most deeply valued, and of which he speaks thus:

> Went back to Burlington and stayed at Mr. Barnes'. In the evening, greatly to my surprise, he told me that in view of my past life, and for the purpose of relieving me from anxiety for the future, as to means of living, he had settled upon me a stipend of fifty dollars per month, and had entered it upon his books as bills payable. O my soul, how good, how faithful and how kind thy God has been all thy life long. I can only say of the event it was unlooked-for and undeserved. It is God's hand. But O, let me feel the responsibility it imposes.

The generous intention of Mr. Barnes was fully carried out, and until his death Dr. Colver continued to receive regularly the monthly sum promised.

From these visits to old scenes and old friends Dr. Colver turned westward; little realizing that he looked upon them for the last time, or that the remaining two years of his life were to be years, not of toil but of suffering.

CHAPTER XIV.

BESIDE THE RIVER.

We may appropriately introduce this chapter, which is to treat of the last sickness and death of him with whose life and labors the foregoing pages have been occupied, by noticing an event standing in close and tender relation with those which we have yet to sketch. Dr. Colver's marriage to Mrs. Sarah T. Carter, which took place January 25, 1825, has been mentioned in the proper place. The wife then given to him, in God's good providence, remained with him forty-three years. In the responsible and difficult positions to which he had been called, she stood at his side. From all the tumult and agitation of such a life as his, from its exciting controversies and at certain periods its personal peril, the home she made him was ever a refuge, while her sympathy in his views and aims, in his trials and triumphs, afforded him support just there where he needed to find sup-

port — in the privacy of that life into which the man of action must often retreat that he may renew his forces, and find relief and re-invigoration under the perpetual strain of public care.

Mrs. Colver's health grew frail as age came on, and the winter of 1867-68, especially, was a season of suffering and decline. The pastor of the church where the family held their membership, with a view to afford her some of the comforts of association with those who loved Christ, deprived as she necessarily was of the privileges of public worship, from time to time appointed the weekly cottage prayer-meeting at her house. The occasion was always welcomed, and even when but few could assemble, her satisfaction in the simple exercises of social worship seemed always the same. Her own words, in speaking of her Christian experience were never many, but they were always to the point, and showed that as she went down the swift decline, at the foot of which ran the dark river with the light beyond, a strong hand kept all her steps. As spring approached she grew rapidly worse, and on Sabbath evening, April 18th, just at sunset, she breathed her last. As her husband turned from her bedside, his words were: "It is not dark here; heaven is close at

hand!" She was buried on the following Wednesday, from the Indiana Avenue Church. In the sermon delivered on the occasion the following words appear:

"As a pastor's wife, she was one whom all loved; to whom the poor or the sorrowful turned, drawn by the magnetism of her own kind heart; a counselor, a peace-maker, a consoler, found much oftener in the house of mourning than in the house of feasting. Her kindness to the poor was especially marked, and her hospitality always, in the most emphatic sense, 'without grudging.' As a Christian, she was less demonstrative than many; yet no one could know her long without perceiving how profoundly she loved the truth 'as it is in Jesus,' how she lived daily 'by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.' How she was beloved by her children, was witnessed by the tears that fell as she died, and by the sorrow that now fills their hearts, that the motherly tenderness, the wise motherly care and counsel they have never lacked in her, they are to have no more on earth.'

Dr. Colver was called home from Richmond by the threatening symptoms which thus proved only too truly monitory. After his wife had been laid

to rest in Oakwood Cemetery, he returned to his charge, taking with him the daughter, Miss Carter, who, having soothed and comforted the last years and days of one parent, was soon to render a like office of affection and fidelity to the other. Of the final failure of health which at last compelled him to relinquish his work at Richmond, and of the journey home, we have already spoken. It was hoped by his pupils that he might possibly return. He himself, probably, had no such expectation. Too many things indicated that he was coming home to die.

Dr. Colver reached his home in Chicago on the 19th of August, 1868. On the way he had spent a Sabbath at Detroit, and preached both morning and evening; in the morning to the Second church, in the evening to both congregations at the house of the First church, presenting the claims and needs of the Freedmen work, and receiving an encouraging sum in voluntary offerings of the brethren, though taking no collection, as both pastors were absent. The effect of this fatiguing labor was felt in a night of pain and prostration. On the Sabbath after reaching home he preached at the Fifth church the funeral sermon, as his diary mentions it, "of a dear young Scotch brother

whom I baptized over a year since." The labor was more than he could bear, and he came home suffering and exhausted. Confinement to his room followed, so that on the succeeding Sabbath he was not even dressed. But on the following one, a brother took him in a carriage to the Indiana Avenue church, where he seemed much comforted by the opportunity of meeting with the Christian people he loved, and amongst whom he now had his religious home.

Subsequently to this, his health slightly improving, he made one more journey to the East, not with any expectation of resuming his duties at Richmond, but mainly to confer with brethren in New York and Boston upon the interests of the school he had founded there. The journey was very fatiguing, and the exhaustion which followed confirmed his conviction that, however his heart might cling to the work he had loved and labored in so long, his failing hand must relinquish it. About this time a new church being formed at the University, he and his family removed their membership thither, their names appearing with those who constituted what is now known as the University Place church, and where his membership remained to the end of his life.

With this church he was permitted to meet a few times, to their great satisfaction and his own peculiar joy. His last sermon was at the Indiana Avenue church, from the words, "Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon the earth that I desire besides thee." A fitting summary, alike of his Christian experience, and of that which had been for fifty years the theme and substance of his ministry.

Dr. Colver's vigorous constitution yielded to disease only after long continued resistance. His complaint was of the heart, complicated with other forms of disease, occasioning him, at times especially, great suffering, with difficulty of breathing. It was attended also with nervous depression at some times, great nervous agitation at others. During two years, from his arrival home August 19, 1868, to his death, September 25, 1870, with the brief intervals of temporary improvement already mentioned, he was, it may truly be said, waiting beside the river, for the summons to cross over to the other side. In many respects this might be termed the most remarkable period of his life. The real nature and spirit of the man disclosed themselves amidst these tedious sufferings as they could never do amidst the excite-

ments of public life, while never, perhaps, were the peculiarities of his genius more strikingly displayed. Mental vigor, of course, was waning. The strong man was but the wreck of his former self; and still, as one sat by his couch it was easy to find in the thought and utterance which held the visitor charmed, almost unconscious of passing time, the secret of that power which had made him "a prince and a great man in Israel." These utterances were alike unstudied and, so far as their effect upon the listener was concerned, unconscious. They mostly, besides, were upon Scripture themes. Expositions of passages more or less familiar, exquisitely apt, beautiful and suggestive, would be given impromptu, and not unfrequently followed out in some of their wider applications. More than one sermon was both suggested and inspired in those conversations; while it was impossible not to feel, as never perhaps before, the preciousness of Scripture truth, and the loving kindness of him who is the Guide and Comforter of his people. The conversation turned occasionally, also, upon themes suggested by current events, or went back over the great matters with which, in his active and conspicuous career, the sick man had so often

been called to deal. The champion of human freedom seemed at times almost to renew his prime when discoursing upon these themes; the fire kindled so long ago, and burning so steadily during half a century of mighty movements and changes, keeping its glow to the last.

It was, however, mellowed and softened. And in this particular those who had occasion to be with Dr. Colver much during his last illness, gained an insight of his true nature which in other circumstances might never have been had. He showed a consciousness of the liability he had been under, during his whole life, while battling with what he felt to be great evils, of failing in due charity toward those by whom they were justified and sustained; or toward those not prepared to hold radical ground like his own. On this point he showed a peculiar solicitude. Different brethren were named by him with whom, in the heat of controversy he had been in collision, and toward whom he feared lest he might have shown too great harshness. One of these, a brother held by him in high respect, yet from whom in the times of the antislavery warfare he had radically differed, he felt obliged to address in a letter, with a view, not to confession of

conscious wrong, but to beg that so far as any utterance of his had given unnecessary pain, and so far as in any particular he had failed to manifest a becoming spirit, he might be forgiven. The response was not all that he desired, still he felt comforted in the assurance that at least he had made sure that so far as he himself was concerned he should leave the world at peace with all. It became evident, thus, that Dr. Colver's decided, out-spoken, often severe course in matters of reform, had not been dictated by a spirit delighting in contention, or in overbearing harshness. All the tenderness of his nature now gushed into view, and the charity which "thinketh no evil," and which "hopeth all things," was like a fountain of sweet waters.

In matters of Christian experience, he was simple as a child. He would sometimes say, when his pastor — or one whom for a time he still viewed in that light — visited him:

"Now talk to me, just as you would if I had never known anything about the Gospel. I want to hear just how it is that a sinner is saved."

He, of course, asked what was impossible; and still his request showed in what utter humbleness and meekness he was sitting at Jesus' feet. There

were seasons of great depression. For his own spiritual state and the world beyond, were to him thrilling realities. He contemplated them, not in a half-drowsy, half-blind way, like one who sees men as trees walking; but he looked upon them with an open, eager eye, and felt them as things in which eternity, for him, was summed and held. Perhaps there was too much of introspection; too much of anxious analysis of the various moods and feelings of which he was conscious; while the darkness which at times oppressed him may have as often as any way been occasioned by his occupying himself, for the moment, so much with matters of mere experience, so as in looking at himself to lose the vision of his Saviour. How childlike, trusting, and easily led, even at such times, he was, may appear from the following. One day, while suffering the depression we speak of, he said to his daughter:

"All seems dark to me; everything is dark."

"Father," was the reply, "how do you think it was with our Saviour, when upon the cross he exclaimed, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' Was he forsaken?"

He glanced up into her face with a brightening expression:

"Why did you not tell me that before?" said he, and the cloud, for the time, was wholly dispersed.

It was noticeable that in these seasons of comparative darkness, it was never the question whether he might not after all be lost, that troubled him; but the question, rather, why to a child of God, such as in humble faith he believed himself to be, seasons of darkness should ever come. "Why is the Father's face hidden?" was the point he was anxious to determine. "Is there some sin," he would sometimes ask, "unrecalled, unrepented of, of which God would remind me? Is this sorrow intended to quicken self-examination that I may remember and confess all God requires of me?" It is believed that the firm hold of his steadfast foot upon the rock of his trust never for a moment gave way, even when the flood was at its worst.

These, however, were but occasional experiences. For the most part his soul dwelt in gladness. All his love for the people of God and the Church of God, for the truth he had for so many years delighted to preach, for his brethren in the ministry, for the young students preparing for the same work who came often to his bedside, for the

Saviour's name and the Saviour's cause, glowed if possible with an intenser flame amidst these sufferings. The Gospel was almost his constant theme, and if called away to some other topic for a little season, his mind always returned speedily to this. It was a treat to spend an hour in his room, and no one enjoying that privilege and prepared to appreciate it can ever have gone away unprofited.

During these later years of his life Dr. Colver was often visited, or addressed in letters, by those who had been interested in his course as a public man, especially upon subjects of reform, and his advice, especially upon questions of conscience, often sought. An incident of this kind, and the words it drew from him, stand in such a relation to an interesting period of his life already dwelt upon, that we think it should have more than a passing notice. Although it occurred somewhat earlier than our present date, it will be appropriately mentioned here. He had been applied to by some one in behalf of a friend, for counsel upon a delicate point of moral obligation. The nature of the inquiry and the tenor of his reply will sufficiently appear in the following extract from his letter:

Your friend requests me to express to you my opinion as to your liberty, as a Royal Arch Mason, to publish the secrets of Masonry within your knowledge. I am perfectly free to express to you my opinion upon the subject. The time was, when I supposed the obligations of Masonry binding upon me. It was at the time when all the secrets of Masonry were published in the State of New York, and Masons were everywhere denying the disclosures, persecuting seceders with a spirit of malignity unsurpassed, at any time, by the slaveholding rebels of the South, and very extensively using my name to confirm their denials. I suffered very much at the time in my spiritual feelings. I felt that though silent, I was endorsing deception and lying, and yet my *oaths* barred me from frankness and truth. I did not suffer more when under conviction for sin, than I did in that terrible state. While thus suffering, I read, one morning, in the providence of God, for our family worship, concerning the forty Jews who bound themselves under oath, not to eat till they had killed Paul. It *struck* me, and unfettered my thought. I soon arrived at the conviction that they were morally bound, not *by*, but to repent *of* their oath; that any oath which contravenes the law of God is a matter of repentance and abandonment. I was free, and my happiness and relief were little surpassed when, in view of Christ, I first found the burden of sin removed. From that time to this, I have neither honored, obeyed *or spared* that lying impostor, Free and Accepted Masonry; I got out of the snare with repentance and brokenness of heart; but O I thank God *I am out.*

* * * * *

On my own part, I have no reserve. What I say, I say upon the house-top; but everything pertaining to yourself is strictly subject to your own discretion and control. The Lord guide you in the path of duty.

Even while suffering as we have described in his last sickness, he found heart and strength for a considerable correspondence, his letters being often dictated, as he lay upon his couch, to his

daughter or to his son, Mr. Phineas Colver. These letters were sometimes addressed to former associates in the ministry, such as Dr. Neale, in Boston, or Dr. Aydelotte, a Presbyterian clergyman of Cincinnati, with whom his relations had been intimate and cordial while a pastor in that city; sometimes they were addressed to more private persons, or intended for churches to which he had formerly ministered. One of these, written to Rev. J. Emery, of Cincinnati, was intended partly for the inmates of a charitable institution there, but was passed from hand to hand and perused in private by many who felt in need of the spiritual quickening they found in it, as well as listened to with deep emotion by those of whom it more particularly speaks, when read to them, as it repeatedly has been. Its date is March 16, 1869:

Your very kind letter of the 13th inst., came to-day, and made my heart glad. It is good of you to remember your old friend, now no longer of any use in the harvest field. It gives me great joy to know that God is working by others, though I may be only a looker-on. Thank you for your good account of the blessing attending the labors of my dear brother Jeffrey; and especially of those dear old Christian widows at the Widow's Home. Do see them where they are, and give them my affectionate remembrance and continued interest in their spiritual welfare. You say you are preaching the Gospel to the poor. My dear brother, no higher privilege can fall to the lot of any man. I have had this

privilege for more than half a century, but I never knew how rich the privilege till now. It seems as if the word of God was like fire shut up in my bones. The Gospel never seemed more precious than now. I would prefer to live in a cave of the mountain, and be permitted to preach the Gospel to "the poor," rather than enjoy all the honors and luxuries of life without it.

But my cup is full. I have had my share for half a century. I was permitted that unspeakable privilege with the loss of but two Sabbaths from ill-health in the time, and during that time to lead thousands to Christ, and down to the watery tomb with their Lord. I have not prayed that God would make me well again; it seems to me as if I was not entitled to it. I thank him for what he has done and pray for grace to suffer with patience *all his will.*

I am standing, now, on the eastern bank of Jordan, over against Jericho, where the tribes pass over. The Jordan of death is before me, but my Joshua has dipped his foot in the brim of the river, and I shall soon follow him on the dry land. You will wish me to say how I feel, now, with the almost certain prospect of death in a short time. Well, dear brother, thank God, I can say I am comfortable, far from being unhappy. I rest on the blood of Christ, and on the promises of his grace. I "have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." I have some *exceedingly precious hours,* and some of weakness, pain and darkness. But if my Father hide his face for a moment, I mourn that sin has incurred his frown, but I rejoice that *I have a Father* to hide his face. *His chidings are sweet.* The intenseness of the light in which I now stand magnifies sin, and I hate it, and "abhor myself in dust and ashes." But it also magnifies the grace of God, and I love it. Redemption by price and by power! O, I do n't wonder heaven is full of praise. *Earth should be.*

> "O the sweet wonders of that cross
> Where God the Saviour loved and died;
> Its sweetest life my spirit draws
> From his dear wounds and bleeding side."

I grieve over the record of my past life, I have done so little; and yet I rejoice over it, because it is also *a record of Christ's*

faithful love. When I think how he has borne with me, and held me up, and covered my head in the day of battle for three-score years past, I have no fear he will leave me now.

> " His love in times past forbids me to think
> He 'll leave me, at last, in trouble to sink.
> Each sweet Ebenezer I have in review
> Confirms his good pleasure to help me quite through."

Do give my love to those who remember and love me there.

Waiting to pass over, I remain,

Affectionately and truly yours in the Lord,

NATHANIEL COLVER.

Just a year from the date of this letter, we find him writing thus to Dr. Neale:

I regard this, as every line I write, as a kind of farewell token. *I am a dying man.* The world has lost its former face. My work in it has apparently reached its end. But my interest is not dead. I love with as much intenseness as ever I did. O how I *do* want to see you. Dear Fulton, I could almost fly to see him. Every token of his or your remembrance is as life to my heart. Don't forget me. My dear Heavenly Father is very precious. I think the Living Comforter comes to me, in sweet fulfillment of the Saviour's promise. He opens to me the precious truths of the Gospel with a sweetness and richness never surpassed in the strongest moments of my past experience. I thank God for all he gives me.

God is doing wonders for us here, in our schools, and in the church. I bless him that I am here to witness what he is doing for his own glory. I am delighted with everything; with dear Hague as our pastor; with our noble faculty and the precious company of young men in both the College and the Theological Seminary. The day has come, surely, for our denomination to work. To this work my whole heart is aroused, while the paralyzing approaches of death are rendering me powerless. But was there ever a time when earth with its teeming millions called out

for *God* with a voice more distinct, earnest or encouraging than now? The world must have Christ. The world will have Christ. My heart takes firm hold of this great fact, and standing where I do stand, *every night* with expectation of being called home, my confidence is that grace will triumph, whether by life or by death.

These letters will indicate, better than any words of ours, the general drift of his thoughts and the tone of his Christian feeling during this period of suffering and waiting. His intense desire to have still a place and a part in the work he saw going on around him was especially to be marked. "Weak" as "the flesh" was, "the spirit" had all the *willingness* of his best days. Perhaps it was harder for him to be quite patient with his lot in this respect than it was even to bear the pain and the confinement of his illness. No small mitigation of this trial was, however, found in the society and occupation afforded him by the near neighborhood of the two institutions of learning, and the large degree in which he possessed the confidence of young brethren there preparing for the ministry. These he often had with him in his room, in groups, giving them a sort of colloquial lectures upon preaching, and the arrangement of sermons. This gave him opportunity, for a time, to keep himself in some degree of working connection with old spheres.

As he grew worse, and it became necessary to provide him with watchers for the night, these young brethren returned this service many-fold into his own bosom, by their attentions, and the regularity with which they came in succession to spend the night at his bedside. On this point we will allow one of these brethren, Rev. John Gordon, now of the Western Avenue Church, in this city, to speak:

"For many months prior to the death of Dr. Colver, it was necessary to procure night-watchers to relieve the members of his family, whose arduous duties were only outnumbered by their acts of kindness to him who, for so many years, had been the burden-bearer and joy of their home. The students preparing for the ministry in the University and Theological Seminary most gladly volunteered their service; esteeming it no small privilege to minister to the comfort of their aged teacher and friend. Hence, almost every night, after the hard toil of a student's day, some faithful one was at his post. It afforded the dear man of God great pleasure to have these 'sons of the prophets' attend him in his sickness, and as nine o'clock came, he would often seem uneasy and express his fears of a disappointment; but on

hearing the door-bell ring would exclaim, in his own peculiar way, 'There, unbelief is again knocked on the head!'

"If space and ability permitted, much might be written on the varied experiences of these midnight scenes, when sleep had sealed every eye but those of the dying patriarch and his youthful watcher. While the world was in darkness and silence, that sick-chamber was a sacred, solemn spot, reminding one of the words of Young:

> "'This sacred shade and solitude, what is it?
> 'T is the felt presence of the Deity.
> Few are the faults we flatter when alone;
> Vice sinks in her allurements, is ungilt,
> And looks like other objects, black by night;
> By night, an atheist half believes a God.'

It was the writer's great privilege to be a member of Dr. Colver's classes in Theology and Homiletics; but although thus favored to sit at the feet of our biblical Gamaliel, the instruction and blessing received in the sick-room far transcended those of the class-room. Some nights his sufferings of body were so great that he could not converse, but his perfect submission to his Father's will was clearly shown by his patient, uncomplaining endurance of pain, and this silent lesson was

worth much to the young servant of God. When free from pain, he generally spent the silent hours of night, not like the great Teacher of Nicodemus, telling his hearer how he must be born again, but so preparing the heart and mind of the student that on the coming Sabbath he could go forth and preach salvation through Christ. He was ever anxious to benefit the young men. He could no longer meet them in their class-room, he could no longer preach 'the glorious Gospel of the blessed God,' but as with Jeremiah of old, 'the word of the Lord was in his heart, a burning fire shut up in his bones, and he was weary with forbearing, and could not stay.' Hence he was ever instructing, ever sermonizing, ever expounding, and many a sermon was prepared in these midnight vigils, which on the coming Sabbath proved a blessing to saint and sinner.

"One night he was so sick that it was deemed advisable to have only his own family beside him. Feeling himself near to the gates of death, and overwhelmed with the realities of eternity and a burden for souls, he called for a pencil and paper, and prepared the skeleton of a sermon on which he wrote, 'If I die before morning, hand this to ——.' The one grand theme on which he loved

to dwell was the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, and his ardent solicitude for his students was that they should preach Christ, and him crucified.

"During his sickness he loved much to have his friends visit him. O how he enjoyed the sweet fellowship and ministrations of those noble men of God and life-long friends, Drs. Hague, Smith and Osgood. The Professors were dear to his heart, and ever welcome at his sick-bed. He loved his old congregation, and few can imagine the pleasure he received when Dr. Fulton visited him, bearing the greetings of his dear old Tremont Temple flock. Dr. Fulton wrote of spending nearly half-an-hour in prayer at the Doctor's sick-bed; this was no uncommon thing for the students. His faith never wavered. He knew that God's foundation and seal were sure. True, a cloud would sometimes arise; but it soon passed away. One night he composed these lines, never before published:

> 'When darkness veils the eternal throne,
> Our feeble sense obscures the light;
> But when he makes his counsels known,
> We shall confess that all is right.'

"He ever delighted to recount the numberless mercies of God; often told of his conversion, and

ascribed it all to grace; he delighted to tell how 'God had covered his head in the day of battle' and 'spread a table for him in the wilderness.' While reviewing the past, he did not forget the present or future. His soul yearned over the lost, and never can the writer forget hearing him repeat these words, written so long ago:

> "'Weep for the lost; the lost will weep
> In that long night of woe
> On which no star of hope shall ever rise,
> And tears in vain shall flow.'

"But though blessed in the past and burdened in the present, he often exclaimed, 'O when shall I see Jesus?' Like Paul he felt anxious to remain for the good of others; but for himself he would rather depart and be with Christ; and if ever human lips could truthfully say these words, they were his, although he never said them — 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.' Surrounded by loving and devoted friends he fell asleep in Jesus."

As intimated above, and as is shown by allusions in Dr. Colver's own letters, the coming of Dr. Hague to the pastorship of the University Place Baptist Church, was to his aged friend and former associate in labor an occasion of great joy.

Although unable, even upon any single occasion, to be himself a participant in the peculiar privilege others had of attending upon Dr. Hague's ministry, he found great satisfaction in his frequent visits, and in what he was constantly hearing of the interest awakened throughout the community by his preaching, and of the substantial results that followed. Thus from many quarters sympathy, comfort, and help came. Meantime, in his own family he found what none others could have afforded, and in supplying which they never wearied. Two of his sons, Mr. Phineas C. Colver, and Mr. Nathaniel Colver, together with his daughter, Miss Carter, resided with him, and to the utmost that their strength would bear gave him patient and unremitted attendance. His disease was of a nature to make the care of him, never, indeed, a burden, but always a care. It was accompanied by great nervous agitation. The powerful brain, the vigorous nervous system, acted upon by influences that sometimes brought delirium, in some instances for days together, and always occasioned a high degree of mental and physical excitement, made it necessary that he should have always those ministrations which are adapted to soothe, and save the mind from turning inward and prey-

ing upon itself. They were greatly relieved when, some months before he died, Mrs. Bunce, a sister of Dr. Colver, greatly beloved and trusted, came from West Stockbridge, prepared to remain with him to the last. Knowing all his moods, and skilful in adapting herself to them, accustomed to the care of the sick, and full of sympathy and tenderness, she gave herself up to him with all the unfailing love of a sister, and all the judgment and skill of an accomplished nurse. Her coming relieved Miss Carter of a care which began to grow too great for her strength, so long, already, overtaxed, and in using which for his benefit, in every way, she had never spared herself. The society and assistance of Mrs. Clark, another relative, were also much valued both by the invalid and by his family. Of the services of "the beloved physician," Dr. Hatch, it would be difficult to say too much. All that medical skill could do in contending with disease, in alleviating pain, and in soothing nervous disturbance was done, accompanied by wise Christian sympathy, and by that brotherly kindness in which the two men in their intimate association during many years had each enriched the other.

But the end came at last. Those present in

Dr. Colver's room during the morning of the Sabbath, September 25, 1870, will never forget the scene. It was an affecting sight; the stalwart frame which had borne so well the heat and burden of many a taxing day, alike in the field of battle and in the field of spiritual husbandry, and which had seemed proof against that hardness which the faithful laborer as well as the good soldier must expect, fighting now its own last battle, and as unwilling to yield as the indomitable spirit had always been. For hours, it was the fierce hand to hand encounter of life and death, with that poor suffering body as the scene of their struggle. At times the nervous excitement was extreme; but even at such moments, a single word of Christian comfort or suggestion, would quiet the agitation, his features break into their wonted kind smile, and some word of faith or tenderness drop from his own lips. Now it would be an utterance of affection to child, or sister, at his bedside; now of love to the Saviour, and longing to behold his face; now of tender remembrance for absent ones. Suddenly, at last, the awful change came. Consciousness ceased, the eyes closed, and after a few convulsions, the

child of God had fallen asleep in the bosom of the Father.

The funeral service was held upon the following Wednesday, at the First Baptist Church. Dr. Colver's pastor, Dr. Hague, was at the time absent at the East. Some delay was occasioned by the difficulty found in ascertaining his precise address, and the intelligence accordingly did not reach him in season to return. His absence was much to be regretted, as upon no one so properly as upon him could have devolved the duty which in the circumstances fell to the writer of these pages; that of giving some delineation of the character and the life of Dr. Colver. Most of the Baptist ministers of the city were present, including Professors in the University and Seminary, in both which institutions the customary exercises were for the day suspended. The large house of worship was full. Upon the pulpit platform were seated, with the pastor of the church, Drs. Burroughs, Northrup, Arnold, Osgood and Goodspeed. Dr. Burroughs followed the sermon with an admirable analysis of Dr. Colver's character in its strongly marked elements, while Dr. Goodspeed spoke feelingly and eloquently of what he had found in him in their mutual relations as suc-

cessive pastors at the Second Church. As the congregation filed past the remains to take their last look of the beloved face, now touched with the sweetness of the Christian's last repose, yet keeping all its familiar nobleness of aspect, the proofs were manifold in how many hearts God's faithful servant had won a lasting place, and how many, even here amidst the scene of his closing ministry, had personal cause to bless his memory.

He was taken to Oakwood Cemetery, and there laid to rest beside his wife and daughter.

And so, farewell, honored and beloved:

> "Light be the turf of thy tomb;
> May its verdure like emeralds be,
> There should not be the shadow of gloom
> In aught that reminds us of thee."

CHAPTER XV.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Biography naturally leans toward eulogy. We cannot complain that it should do so, provided, only, that it does not lean too far in that direction; does not, itself, actually become eulogy. The purpose of biography seems manifestly to be, not the *dissection*, but the *delineation* of character. Between the two there is a difference as great as between the work of the painter and the work of the anatomist; between the pencil of the one and the knife of the other. In what the painter does, we have a right to look for the features he offers to portray, for face, and form, for attitude and expression. He must *reproduce* his subject; not with perfections it never had, nor yet with faults and blemishes diligently hunted for, and set forth with evident determination that at least there shall be, in them, as they appear on the canvass, no lessening or mitigation.

We have not written this book with a view to give what immortality we could to the failings and errors of him whose life we have sketched. Neither upon the other hand could we have any object whatever in overstating what we believe to have been admirable in his character and career. We have, however, a right to wish that his name shall wear the garland that belongs to it of right, and that his works shall praise him. He was one of those men whose faults of character stand clearly out, and for such as are inclined to criticise or censure invite comment. Not only had he no concealments, but his nature was ruled by those strong impulses which impart intensity to every manifestation. What he thought it was for him almost a necessity to utter, and in words as strong as the thought. In his intellectual and moral temper he was a radical. Not an extremist; for an extremist never knows when or where to stop. Dr. Colver did know. But in that sense of the word "radical" which assigns it to one who applies the axe of reform to "*the root*" of all evil trees, he was a radical. There was a time when to the great majority, probably, of those who knew him, he seemed simply an agitator. There came a time when that sort of agitation became a great

national movement, and when the minority had itself grown to be the overwhelming majority. What would become of the world, if there were no such men? If conservatives succeed in gaining forgiveness, at the last, for their own slowness, may they not, in return, well afford to forgive those who once *seemed* to be too fast?

It is, probably, as a reformer that most of those familiar in a general way with the name of Nathaniel Colver, will first think of him. What he was, in this respect, the foregoing pages will testify. In *all* movements of reform he sympathized and shared. It is a suggestive fact, however, that he became a reformer without becoming any less a Christian and a Christian minister. It may be said, indeed, that as he was, in point of time, a Christian and a minister first, so he was as respects the sympathy, the time, the labor which he gave to his work as such, when compared with that which he gave to what called him in the other sphere. We may even say with truth that it was as a minister and a Christian that he was a reformer. He never saw any antagonism between these two. What is more, he could not have been the one, with fidelity to his own convictions, without becoming the other. Antimasonry, Anti-

slavery, Temperance, were to him simply practical applications of the Gospel he preached; and it was to his mind as clearly logical to urge all these as resulting from those precepts of revealed truth which infold duties with doctrines, as it was to exhort a Christian to live in any other respect so as to honor and not dishonor the Saviour in whom he trusts for salvation. Hence he found no difficulty in being at once a Christian pastor and a champion of reform; and it is worthy of notice that at the very time when the land rang with abuse of him in the one capacity, God's blessing was so upon him in the other that revivals, conversions, and the baptism of hundreds were the result. Neither, as has been already shown, did he ever yield a single point of Christian doctrine in deference to that spirit of infidelity which at one time seized so eagerly upon the hobby of reform, with the hope, by means of it, to ride into popular favor. He was as bold and unqualified in his championship of the truth, as in his championship of reform.

If we attempt a hasty analysis of Dr. Colver's character, viewed morally and intellectually, perhaps what will first offer itself for comment is its *robustness*. In this respect he was what his origin,

and the conditions of his early life, tended to make him. He came of a vigorous, manly race; a race nurtured in vigor and manliness by those hard necessities, which yet were the kindly fosterers of the sturdy New England character. Physically, he was no unfit type of the genuine son of a New England soil. In stature higher than the average, the proportions of his figure were, in the days of his prime, well nigh perfect, matched as they were by a face and head that were the fitting crown of a noble form. One who knew him only after his removal to Cincinnati, while speaking of his person as "large and commanding," and his manner as "dignified and graceful," says that he was all this "in spite of a rather ungainly figure." It was only after the infirmities of advancing years, with the strain of many cares and many toils, had bowed his form and somewhat changed his wonted firm and swift step, that any one could seem to see anything "ungainly" in him. There are those who, having seen him and heard him in the days of their impressible youth, have retained ever since the effect upon them of his noble presence, especially when in the full glory of his eloquence in the pulpit or on the platform. And he was in mind what this

physical presence seemed to imply. Strength was his especial attribute; strength not rude and savage, but robust.

Out of this quality proceeded, it would seem, much of that which those especially who differed with him looked upon as severe, and perhaps even overbearing. Tender and gentle methods were not those most natural to him. Where he differed he differed with a conviction intense and earnest in proportion as the matter in hand was to him more momentous. Above all things he abhorred whatever seemed like swerving from a principle; and he came to feel, before he died, that under the impulse of this tendency he had not made sufficient allowance for that difference in the point of view which may lead to differences of judgment as to what principle really demands, even among those who are in the main equally loyal. While, however, borne by the tide of his own robust and strenuous convictions, he was apt to bear down upon those radically differing from him with a force which seemed almost ruthless. That this was only in the seeming, those who have followed us in the foregoing narrative will, we think, be prepared to admit. Seldom did a

kinder, a more generous and charitable heart beat in a human bosom.

His doctrine and method, as a preacher, had also the robustness which belonged, as we have seen, to his character. A man cast in such a mould as he never could be anything else but a Calvinist, alike in his experience and in his teaching. The mere sentimentalisms of religion were to him simply contemptible. The tenderness, the love, the sweet and gentle charities, the hopes, the joys, which hang as bright flowers on the tree of a faith rooted in God's word, and whose fruitage is a life beautiful in what most adorns and blesses humanity — these he could appreciate. But with one who, rejecting that word of God, or disloyal to it, sought to make fine words and fine sentiments answer in the room of fidelity to the truth, with such a one his soul could have no fellowship whatever. Disloyalty, in every sense of the word, he simply abhorred. So he did weakness. The strong words of the Scripture, interpreted according to those standards which had stood the test of so many fiery ordeals, could alone adequately utter for him that truth in which he saw God revealing himself to men. These, he held, supplied both theme and substance to every true ministry, and to

forsake these for the jingling cadences of mere oratory, or for phrases and circumlocutions perversely invented, not to testify but to evade, was in his view even criminal. He rested his personal faith and hope simply and squarely on the revealed word; and his preaching was ever the expounding of that word. So true was this of him, that he even held that preaching must always be substantially *textual*, and could recognize no arrangement of a sermon as admissible, which did not begin with expounding the text, and then proceed in a discussion of the points which naturally and necessarily grew out of it. His own method, in this respect, had a certain rigidity which it might not be safe for another to adopt implicitly. Few men could succeed so well as he did in redeeming the stiffness of a uniform method in arranging the thoughts, by the rich variety and the resplendent coloring of the thoughts themselves.

As is so often the case with robust natures, Dr. Colver had in his constitution a very large element of humor. This was usually of the playful, rather than the sarcastic kind. Even when there entered into it something of the latter, it was saved from all that might savor of the sardonic and the ungenerous, by the large proportion which still remained

of the former. We are tempted to refer to one occurrence which has been more than once related of him. At a public meeting, in Boston, when there was a diversity of opinion among those present and the discussion was becoming unpleasantly prolonged, some one arose, and probably thinking to throw light on the subject, made in the course of his remarks a Latin quotation. Mr. Colver sprang to his feet immediately after and thanked the brother for his Latin, saying that the matter had been rather obscure to him before, but now it was *quite plain.* There was a burst of laughter. The assembly adjourned in great good nature, and the brother became famous as the one who had enlightened and convinced Mr. Colver by quoting from what, to him, as probably also to most of those present, was a dead language, indeed.

Upon another occasion this sportive humor was turned to still better account. In some place where he was preaching, the Universalists of the town, anxious to hear one of their own expounders whose fame was loud in that region, availing themselves of some understood privilege to that effect, claimed the use of the place of worship for a Universalist service. One of their number, whom we will designate as Mr. B——, a very

noisy controversialist, but a man of more than doubtful reputation, was notably forward in this, and while his minister was preaching, having seated himself in a prominent place, took especial pains to make his pride and glee in the victorious argument that was sounding out from the pulpit conspicuous to all. Mr. Colver was present, having his seat near the door. The minister, upon concluding, invited Mr. Colver to pray. Mr. Colver arose and gravely said that it was frequently his custom upon closing his sermon to call upon some of his own brethren to pray, and he thought it very fitting that on this occasion some Universalist brother should be invited to perform that service. "For instance," he said, standing up at his full height and pointing to the individual named, "for instance, there is brother B——!" The absurdity of the thing so impressed all present that in the mirth which followed, scarcely repressed, the minister's argument suffered a complete collapse.

This tendency to humor sometimes, though very rarely, showed itself in preaching. In speeches and addresses from the platform, or in lectures upon reform, it had ample scope. Few men could more effectually set forth the absurd side of a

false notion few also have abounded more in quaint illustrations or could more aptly use them. The same tendency, however, found in the intercourse of his more private life, an exercise which made it a delight to many. Ready in repartee, full of anecdote, social and genial, his playful moods it was always a pleasant thing to share. It made him, also, a favorite with children and young people, into whose thoughts and pleasures he could enter, as well as into the higher and sterner thoughts and emotions of those to whom life had ceased to be a holiday. One day, as he was journeying along a country road, he saw a boy fishing without any success. He stopped and watched him for a while. Then approaching him, he said,

"You do n't manage it right: let me show you." So, dropping the line, he soon drew out a fish.

"There," said he, "that 's the way to do it."

"But I did n't dare try it again," he used to say afterward in relating the incident.

There was something characteristic in the manner in which Mr. Colver and the eccentric John Leland first met. It was while Mr. Colver lived at Union Village. Mr. Leland, arriving at the house, entered with little ceremony, and being

shown to the room where Mr. Colver was, accosted him with,

"Do you know me?"

"What man," replied Mr. Colver, "knoweth a man but the spirit of a man that is in him?"

Leland replied with another quotation equally apt, when Mr. Colver said,

"You must be John Leland!"

"And you must be Nathaniel Colver!"

How much of what was congenial to his own nature Mr. Colver found in Mr. Leland is shown in his admirable sketch of him, as published in "Sprague's Annals of the Baptist Pulpit."

At the risk of extending these delineations too far, we must speak of Dr. Colver's steadfastness in friendship. It was a great trial to him when compelled to have dealings with men who lacked this quality. Once he said of one whom he had found in certain important particulars unreliable, though one upon whom he felt that he ought to be able to count with safety: "To depend on him is like trying to stand upon a round stone." In such a weakness as this he could not even sympathize. He loved his friends, and he *stood by them.* To this those who were during so many years his associates in counsel and in toil, in connection

often with important affairs and in critical times, some of whom remain unto this day, would gladly testify. In accordance with this was the steadfast love he cherished for the churches where he had labored, and those with whom he had sustained the relation of a pastor. Few incidents in his later life gave him greater joy than the opportunity afforded by the centenary of the church at Union Village, and the dedication of its fine new house of worship, in 1866, to revisit the scene of his ministry during one of its most interesting periods. While refreshing his soul in revived associations of the gone-by time, he entered fully into the joy of the church and of its pastor, Dr. J. O. Mason, who had filled so well and so long a post henceforth lastingly associated with the names of a Barber and a Colver, while also and equally with his own. In Dr. Colver's last sickness he was greatly cheered by a visit from Dr. Mason, who told his church when he returned home that "that sick room seemed rather the gate of heaven." This attachment to the church at Union Village, as to all the other churches he had in like manner served, was warmly reciprocated. Dr. Mason's sermon, it is proper to add, in commemoration of the most honored and

eminent of his predecessors gave great satisfaction.

Of Dr. Colver's sententious sayings, retained in the memory of those who heard them, quite a collection might be made, as also of his apt comparisons and similes, illustrating the truth he was teaching. He had a rare gift that way. The following are specimens:

Speaking of unstable Christians, he compared them to little pyramids, trying to stand with the base up and the apex down.

Concerning preparation for every special occasion he was wont to say, "If one keeps the cistern full, there is no need to labor every time for enough to fill the dish."

He was always ready to apologize for human weakness; and used to say, "If people are not worth but a sixpence, why, take them at that, and do n't expect any more."

Another of his sayings was: "God does not hold me responsible for the conversion of a single soul. I must do my own individual duty, and God will take care of the result."

One of his latest was this, "When I was a young man I thought I could do a great deal of

good, but *now*, if I can get on without doing any harm, I shall be glad."

But it is time we gave opportunity for some of those to speak whose earnest and tender tributes lie before us. No man was dearer to him than Dr. R. H. Neale, for so many years his neighbor and fellow-laborer in Boston, whose steadfast friendship he had often proved, whose genius he ardently admired. These sentiments were warmly reciprocated, as witness the words we here copy: "Dr. Colver was a noble, great-souled, loving man. I was quite intimate with him all the time he was in Boston, and our acquaintance and friendship continued until his death. It is impossible to say too much of him in the line of his characteristic qualities. His character was strongly marked, and transparent as the light. He was stern as Charles Sumner for principle and right, but as forgiving and loving, even to those who had injured him — I had almost said, as his Master. Deeply and thoroughly religious, he was remarkably cheerful; loving dearly to tell or hear a laughable anecdote, no matter if it was sometimes at his own expense."

Speaking of the characteristics which distinguished him, Dr. Fulton says: "First and fore-

most among them was his devotion to Christ and his Gospel. He cared little for general literature, and had but little sympathy for ministers who thought more of scabbards than swords, more of elegant diction than pungent thought. Under the shadow of the Cross he found the strength, the protection, and the help which made him what he was. His was a sunny Christianity. When the week had been full of battle, and he had been beaten and abused, it seemed as if the pressure had caused the flowers of piety blooming in his heart to exhale a more beautiful fragrance than ever, and his preaching showed that he had dipped honey from the rock and fed the people with manna sent from God. He loved to speak upon such a text as, 'The word of God is not bound,' and then would write a beautiful hymn, which his choir would sing, and which would have been preserved in our best collections, had the man lived elsewhere. How he would portray Christ and the resurrection! His delineatory power was, at times, as graphic as that of Gough.

"Memories of his rising in his place at a great Temperance Convention in Saratoga, N. Y., where he confronted and opposed Governor Briggs on a question of policy, live in the minds of men at

this hour. Such was his power that the currents of thought were changed. The master-spirit had appeared. He spoke over an hour, apparently without premeditation, but in so telling a manner that he carried the Convention with him, and Governor Briggs, familiar with the palmiest efforts of Henry Clay and Webster, declared he had never listened to such oratory before. There was that in the squint of the eye, the pucker of the mouth, the wave of the hand, the tone of voice, which would set an audience into a roar of laughter, or smite the rock of feeling with the touch of his wand, causing fountains of tears to gush forth.

"His self-assertion was as marked as his self-abnegation. He gloried in being hidden with Christ in God, but not being hidden in man, or by him. Before the world he was a standard-bearer, and would not brook rebuke or constraint in serving his Master. Policy was unable to bind him either with the silken cords of love, or with fetters of iron. This made him stand apart, and caused him to walk much alone. Of his reputation he was careless. He kept neither diary nor scrap-book worthy of the name. So fully was he absorbed in the work of his life that memoranda, resolu-

tions, newspaper notices, all went for nought. He lived for Christ and souls, not for himself. He was careless of other things. His head would get full of a subject, and his handkerchiefs, spectacles, shawl, and mayhap carpet-bag, would be left in places where he had stopped, and would be following him for days after his return from one of his preaching tours.

"He was a ready man. All he knew, all he read, all he thought, was at his command. This made it an easy matter for him to write a sketch for a sermon, or preach without memoranda. It gave him, too, prodigious power as a debater. Interrupt him you might, but discompose him you could not. He was our great extemporaneous preacher. He was ever ready, too, for a discussion. Quick at a retort, witty yet not savage, and always open-handed and open-hearted.

"He did not work three hundred and sixty-five days of the year as he worked on some special occasions. If he had he would never have ploughed those deep furrows in Boston which now ridge the past. Though he never accomplished all that greater care and more intense study would have permitted him to do, and though he has not won the peculiar reputation which they

have gained whose products of the pen are the glory of the age, it may be questioned whether he has not done a more important work in his distinctive sphere."

Dr. Aydelotte, a Presbyterian clergyman, of Cincinnati whom Dr. Colver held in the highest esteem says: "Take him all in all, he was one of the most interesting and impressive preachers I ever listened to. In more private associations one could not but feel his deep and heart-felt piety. All was natural with him, not the slightest trace of ostentation or self-seeking. Hence I could not but greatly admire and love him."

The same writer in an article published in the "Christian Press," after describing Dr. Colver's personal appearance in the pulpit, adds:

> But all this was merely the attractive vestibule to the temple. After a brief exordium, we were brought, face to face, to feel the power of a giant intellect, and the vastly greater power of a heart all aglow with the love of Christ and the love of souls. As he went on, his body as well as his spirit seemed rising upward — heavenward — while he poured out one continuous stream of captivating, melting, richest, sacred eloquence. It was not merely the eloquence of intellectual talent, or of high moral and spiritual culture; it was something in addition to all these — it was a rare, Heaven-given genius, shedding a hallowed glow of beauty, of power, of sublimity over every statement, every argument, every appeal. As it is only the divine hand can give *bloom* to the ripened peach, so it was only this divine gift of genius could diffuse such wondrous luster over everything which issued from the lips of this great preacher in the sacred desk.
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> We have at times endeavored, notwithstanding all the fascina-

tions of his eloquence, to listen with the severest critical accuracy; and we were filled with astonishmnent, when we called to mind the deficiencies of his early education, that we could rarely discover a solecism or grammatical error in his language, and that his figures of speech were so apt and pure — always in strict accordance with the nicest rules of rhetoric. What could have given him a style so correct and polished? And what could have clothed him with such clear, overwhelming logic? God did it,— God did it. He who regenerated and sanctified him — He also made him so glorious a preacher. His was often the highest style of sacred oratory. God rarely sends such a gift to his Church. We never expect to see another Dr. Colver.

During the few years our beloved friend and brother, Dr. Colver, was pastor of the First Baptist Church, Cincinnati, he endeared himself to the hearts of hundreds of people. His ministry here was crowned with blessed results, in the conversion of souls, and in the edification of the church. His grasp of truth was wonderful. The clearness with which he set forth the doctrines of the gospel will never be forgotten by those who have heard him. There was a *directness* and *boldness* in uttering truth which reminded the hearer of Knox, Luther, and of Paul the Apostle.

Christ crucified was his favorite theme. Salvation through faith in the Son of God; justification by faith and the Sovereignty of God in salvation were the themes on which he delighted to speak; and the people loved to hear him.

Rev. J. Emery, another dear and valued friend in Cincinnati, writes thus:

His warm heart glowed in sympathy for the oppressed. He feared not to open his mouth for the dumb, and plead the cause of those who were doomed to unrequited toil. He had no apologies to make for American Slavery, but warned the people against sympathizing with, or apologizing for, this sin of the nation. God permitted him to live to see the last slave free, and the oppressed restored to their rights and citizenship.

For the poor, the aged, and distressed Father Colver had warm sympathy. By their bed-side and in their lowly rooms he loved to linger, and express his sympathy and utter his fervent prayers. He was specially delighted to visit the Widow's Home, and preach Jesus to its forty aged inmates. To them it was a special delight to listen to his voice. Though twelve years have passed away, many of them remember those visits with great pleasure, and speak of our departed brother with tears of joy.

On one of these visits, he insisted on a blind woman eighty years of age, very deaf, coming into the chapel. She sat by his

side with her hearing trumpet. He sat near her declaring the gospel of the grace of God. The aged saint was delighted, and spoke of that sermon for years afterward, as the only one she had heard for many years. She has gone to her Redeemer, and the man of God who cheered her heart has also fallen "asleep in Jesus."

Of Dr. Colver's life in his family it does not become us, here, to speak minutely. This part of every man's history belongs rather to those memories which are sacred to silence and to sorrow, than to any record made for the public eye. His domestic affections, we may however say, were tender and strong, and every member of the household was cherished in his heart of hearts. Above all did he earnestly seek and long for their welfare in the highest sense. While Mr. Knapp was aiding him in a revival meeting in Boston, at the time of which we have already spoken, one of his sons, then a young man, was in St. Louis. Learning, through a letter received from him that he was about visiting New Orleans, and aware that he was as yet without a Christian hope, Mr. Colver requested that he might be made a subject of special prayer in the meetings, and wrote him to this effect. Before the letter could reach him, however, the son, completing the purpose of his journey sooner than he expected, returned to St. Louis. There he came under the influence of some special services held by Mr. Hinton, then

pastor of the Baptist church in that place, was awakened and converted. When the letter of his father, forwarded from New Orleans, reached him, he was able to declare that the great thing prayed for in his behalf in Boston, the Lord had already done, for his soul. The circumstances of this conversion of one of his children ever after invested the event with a peculiar interest; although the mercy of God to his sons and daughters in bringing them to an experience of his grace, was ever to him a theme of thankful praise;—as the prayer that *all* might experience this grace was also his fervent, constant petition.

We have not spoken particularly of Dr. Colver's fondness for the writing of hymns nor of his other poetical productions. As poetry he would never, himself, have claimed for them any high place. They were, however, a song of his own heart, and being often suggested by the themes upon which his sermon had been prepared, were not unfrequently sung by his choir with excellent effect. In the different collections of such pieces found among his manuscripts, not a few appear made interesting by the circumstances under which they were composed. Such headings as the following, themselves

impart interest to the verses written as indicated:

"On waking in the night of Tuesday the 9th of November 1847, and thinking of the time when I first found peace with God."

"A midnight song, composed in the night of the 25th of January, 1858, at Elder J. Blain's, in Charlestown, after preaching for him in the evening."

"Composed at the funeral of the infant son of Dr. L——, at Jamaica Plains, and sung on the occasion. It was the first-born of Mrs. L——. She had rejoiced greatly at its birth; and was alarmingly depressed at its death. The conversation resulted in the pencilling of this hymn, while the people were gathering."

"Written Sabbath noon, Feb. 1848, and sung at the reception of members in the afternoon."

We have given, on a former page, one of his more playful productions in verse. Another, both playful and tender, was sent from Richmond, in 1868, to the son, Mr. John D. Colver, of whose conversion we spoke above, then and still residing in Colorado. It accompanied a photograph of himself:

My children, I greet you;
I'm happy to meet you
Among these rude hills everlasting.
Since you saw me before
I've passed my three-score
And ten — years of toiling and wasting.

Despise not my wrinkles,
Old Time's little crinkles;
They speak of the battles for Right.
In the work of reform
It has faced every storm,
And never turned back in the fight.

For three-score and thirteen
I a pilgrim have been;
Over fifty the trumpet have blown;
Through the kind hand of God,
By his staff and his rod,
Ne'er faltered in making him known.

Now among your choice things
That give memory wings,
Let me find a secure resting-place.
When you wish a review,
And old scenes to renew,
Then look on this old, loving face.

Still another of these pieces, very sad, and yet comforting, in its suggestion, we must give. We find it headed thus:

"The writer of this was by the heart-disease compelled to sit upright in his chair that he might get breath, one o'clock, A. M., Chicago, Oct. 22, 1869:"

And while the weary watcher slept,
A way-worn pilgrim waked and wept;
He longed his home, his rest to see,
And cried, My God, I wait for thee.

My God, I wait for thee,
My work on earth seems done,
I long my Father's face to see
As imaged in the Son.

My God, I wait for thee;
The time of toil is o'er.
There is a rest remains for me
On Canaan's happy shore.

My God, I wait for thee.
O, when will Jesus come?
A mansion is prepared for me,
O haste, and take me home.

My God, I wait for thee,
Nor murmur at my pains,
But long to soar with Christ away,
Where life eternal reigns.

My God, I wait for thee,
To end this mortal strife;
Why should thy chariot long delay,
To bring immortal life?

We might add many words more; but these, surely, will suffice; — and these are written, not simply to honor the man, but far more to illustrate how God calls, endows, sends and helps his servants. We may conclude all with the words,

equally beautiful and true, written by Mr. Washburn, of Boston, and handed to Dr. Colver on board the steamer which bore him from that city, when he went to Richmond to found there a school for the freedmen ministers. Services had been held in the cabin of the steamer in which old and tried friends, Neale, Hague, Peck, Parker, Fulton, Olmstead, Chipman, Grimes had participated. Broken with many infirmities, his health but a fragment, Dr. Colver had said to these brethren: "My physician has told me that I may die; but I would go were I to be carried a corpse from this steamer. I want to die with my face that way." The lines which follow recognize the martyr-like heroism shown in that moment; but they may with equal fitness close the memorial we here offer of a life which saw many such moments and whose highest praise is that it ever sought, not shunned, those ordeals which test courage, and patience, and faith:

"Brave soldier of the olden time!
Firm and erect I see thee still;
As in thy manhood's pride and prime,
Ready to do thy Master's will:
Eager as ever for the fray,
Quick to assail the hosts of sin,
Hailing with joy the promised day
Which ushers our millennium in.

"O, what is age to one like thee!
Time touches lightly yet thy brow,
At threescore years and ten we see
The hero in the prophet now:
Thy trumpet tones ring out again,
The fire still flashes from thine eye,
Where congregate our earnest men,
There doth thy chosen pathway lie.

"God give thee strength to do His will;
It is no idle thing to brave
The smothered hate of men, who still
Reject the boon which Freedom gave.
The mountain peaks have caught the light,
And through the valleys breaks the day,
But O, my friend, how much of night
Has yet to melt and pass away!

"Farewell! the wind blows fresh and free,
Our old flag every stripe unfurls,
To-night thy path is on the sea,
And, tossing from her prow the pearls,
We know the good ship bears a gem
To sparkle on a Southern strand,
Whose rays, like those o'er Bethlehem,
Shall bless and gladden all the land."

LECTURES

ON

St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

BY REV. N. COLVER, D.D.

Lectures on Romans.

LECTURE I.

The Apostle.

I. *His Birth.* — He was born at Tarsus of Jewish parents, was conversant with heathen literature and customs, but finished his education at the feet of Gamaliel, and became versed in all the lore of Judaism.

II. *His Conversion and Call to the Ministry.* — He was converted suddenly by the almightiness of Jesus Christ from a zealous persecutor to a praying, loving disciple. The peculiarity of his conversion so impressed him with the sovereignty of grace as to show itself in all his after communications through life.

III. *He was separated to his work* like Jeremiah by the electing grace of God from the womb, and was ordained by the specific directions of the Holy Ghost, and was commissioned directly by Christ.

N. B. The election of Matthias was undirected of God. The apostolic office is one of power and authority — official authority, and one to be filled by no human election, but by Divine appointment, ends with the appointed incumbent, and has no successor.

LECTURE II.

Rom. I. 2. — *Christ the Burden of all Scriptural Prophecy.*

Prop. — Christ the crucified is the Christ upon whom all Scriptural Prophecy rests, and is declared to be "the Son of God with power," etc.

I. He is the mysterious seed of the *woman* who should bruise the head of Satan. See Gen. iii. 15.

II. He is the Shiloh who it was promised should come before the tribe of Judah should cease in its patriarchal government. See Gen. xlxix. 10.

III. He is the sacrifical lamb. See Ex. xii. 46, cf. John xix. 36.

IV. He is the suffering substitute. See Is. liii., as uoted in Acts viii. 32, 33. This is a credential, clear, ill and unmistakable.

V. He is the Messiah to be cut off. See Dan. ix. 24-27.

1. The weeks (or sevens) are weeks of years.

2. From the decree to rebuild Jerusalem to the cutting off of the Messiah are seventy weeks, *i. e.*, seven weeks to the completion of Jerusalem, and threescore and two weeks bring us to the last of the seventy in the midst of which he was cut off. This was understood by Caiaphas. See John ix. 49.

VI. He is the seed of David after the flesh and heir to David's throne, but was also God Incarnate in the same heir. See Is. ix. 6, 7.

VII. He, the seed of the immutable oath, was connected with such a concatenated train of circumstances as renders deception impossible. See Gen. xv. 4 — Seed promised. Gen. xvii. 15 — Posterity to be marked in the flesh, and the promise renewed now that Sarah is dead to child-bearing, and twenty-five years subsequent to the first promise or seal of circumcision. Rom. iv. 1. In Gen. xxii. 16, the promise was confirmed by an oath. Now these circumstances so combine as to render deception impossible.

1. Promise believed while Sarah is barren through age, and this belief counted to Abraham for righteousness.

2. Twenty-five years later promise was sealed by circumcision, though Sarah was not yet dead.

3. When Abraham's faith was tried it was confirmed by an oath. Notice in this account the word "faith."

VIII. He is the priest by oath. Psalm cxvi., and Heb. vi. 20, and vii. 3-21. A priest after the antitype of Aaron, after the order of Melchisedec, of an unpriestly house, made by an oath. The supplanter of Aaron and yet supported by Aaron. Combining in himself the prerogatives of the mitre and the crown, and all this he was in the prophecy or oath and in the fulfillment. Surely these are the two immutable things in which it is impossible for God to lie.

LECTURE III.

ROM. I. 5. — *Grace and Apostleship Given.*

Prop. — To Christ, whose credentials were found full and incontrovertible, were the apostles — the "we" of the text — indebted for two things, viz., Grace and Apostleship. Notice:

I. *Grace.* — If Christ will have any to be employed in his special service, he will first bestow upon them his saving and transforming grace. An unconverted ministry is a monstrosity — an offense to God. Personal piety is a prerequisite to the ministerial calling. Notice in support of this that

1. Whatsoever is not of faith is sin. God does not call men to sin.

2. The work is God's work. An unsubdued enemy cannot perform it.

3. Primitive ministers were first called to be saints.

4. The regenerated can only know the truth and preach it.

5. The new-born only can sympathize with Christ or his.

A godless ministry has made the Romish Church, once the light of the world, what it now is — the Mother of Harlots. The origin and perpetuity of almost all the errors that have cursed the church of God are from a heartless ministry.

II. *Apostleship.* — Notice that,

1. Paul reckons himself as one of the apostles — "*we.*" He was not a supernumerary, but one of the twelve.

2. Apostleship is the gift of Christ. Men can no more elect an apostle than the people of the United States can elect the Cabinet of the President. It is the prerogative of Christ to choose his own ministers and ambassadors.

3. Their endowments and their authority are both direct from their head, Jesus Christ. Their endowment is supernatural, and their authority plenary.

4. The scope of their mission is vast and unlimited. It extends to all nations, and through all time. They have no successors, and can have none. Their authority is not transferable.

5. Their work is glorious — the world's subjection to the obedience of the faith. Not forced obedience or subjection, but that which flows from heart-loyalty, from the fidelity of the heart to God. Faith is obedience in embryo. Obedience in detail is faith developed.

LECTURE IV.

ROM. I. 6–17.

I shall notice in my lecture to-day two things from verse 6-17, viz.:

I. Some particulars concerning the church to which this Epistle is addressed.

1. It was at Rome, the proud capital of the Roman Empire. The minds of the people were strengthened and enlarged by the training of the Cæsars. Martial enterprise and moral position in regard to other nations, modified by the refinement and polish of the Greek nations and literature. In these respects it was Carthage added to Rome, or Romanized Carthage.

2. By whom or at what time this church was planted is utterly unknown, but by verse 13 it would appear that at the time of writing this epistle, Paul had

not been there. So it is generally understood, but I rather think that he had been there before, and was looking for the fruit of former labors among them.

3. At the time this epistle was written, it was a strong and enlightened church, and its structure evangelical. They were called of God to be saints, and their faith was notorious throughout the whole world.

4. In their strength that pride had risen which resulted in the utter change of the character of the Church. They first substituted Gospel rights upon Jewish rites, and afterwards engrafted Judaism on the Gospel by baptizing catechumens, and secondly the infants of members, etc., until the love of worldly pomp and splendor rendered the Gospel of none effect.

II. The Gospel he proposed to preach to them when he should visit them, and which he would give them in his epistle. Remark

1. He was not ashamed of it.
   - *a.* God had slain the pride of his heart.
   - *b.* He had felt its power.
   - *c.* He recognized it as the power of God, or the instrument of that power.
   - *d.* He knew its Divine Authenticity. He received it of God. See Gal. i. 1.
   - *e.* He had seen its power in Asia Minor and in Judea, and would venture upon it in Rome.

2. It was a charge put into his hand which made him the world's debtor. The necessities of men, whether Barbarian or Scythian, Greek, Jew, or Roman, were a divinely written check upon the treasure of gospel truth in his hands, which he would not dishonor. Remark that
   - *a.* To discharge this indebtedness the utmost energies of God's ministers are taxed.
   - *b.* The responsibilities of ministers through this indebtedness involve the life of souls. Acts xx. 26.

c. The impartation of this treasure was rather a matter of heart's desire than of duty. The pious heart will not sit still while souls are perishing for the bread of life which is entrusted to its care.

3. "Because therein the righteousness of God is revealed from faith to faith,"—*i. e.*, from faith in God to faith in the redeemed soul. Remark that

a. Faith of God is God's fidelity to the right,—faith of divine operation is fidelity to the right, to the righteousness implanted in the human heart.

b. The Gospel is a revelation of the impartation of God's righteousness into redeemed souls, transforming them to his image of righteousness and of true holiness. Col. iii. 10. It might read,—"Therein is revealed the extension of righteousness from faith to faith." This Christ will do till men are either saved or destroyed.

LECTURE V.

ROM. I. 18.–II. 16.— *The Wrath of God against the Heathen.*

Prop.— The wrath of God revealed from Heaven against all unrighteousness and ungodliness of men as applied to the Heathen is just and equitable.

I. God was known by them from the creation of the world (*i. e.* in point of time,) and from the understood speech of the things which he has made, even his Eternal Power and Godhead. See Psalms xix. 1-6; Is. xl. 26.

II. This truth — God's Eternal Power and Godhead — the heathen held in unrighteousness. This truth was written by the finger of God upon their hearts and consciences. It troubled them, and hence they changed the truth of God into a lie, and loved and served the creature more than the Creator. They did homage to their own lusts. See verses 21-23.

III. Our proposition is confirmed in that "they were not thankful." God was manifestly the Author, Owner, and Bestower of life with all its susceptibilities and blessings, but they denied his proprietorship, and seized upon and used them as their own, worshiped self and laid all upon the altar of their own lusts. It was not necessary in order to their guilt that they should know of the Trinity, or of the plan of salvation. They knew God's rights,— his Power and Godhead,— and deliberately violated them all. They put idol gods in his place, and gave them, who were the representatives of their own lusts, the homage which was his due. The legitimate elements of rebellion stamped them with infinite guilt. Verse 24.

IV. Our proposition is more than confirmed by their more than beastly and degrading uncleanness,— by the almost inconceivable extent of vileness in devotion to their own passions when not restrained by God. They were "ungodly" in their depravity, and "unrighteous" in their selfishness. The breach of the filial bond severed also the fraternal bond. Verses 28-31.

Remark that God winked at the times of the old world. He left men to themselves and allowed them to develop themselves in wickedness in the sight of all worlds. He sent them strong delusions that they might be damned, or rather that it might prove their damnation just. Thus left, the world was filled with violence; —"blood touched blood." Men became incurable, and God destroyed them with the flood. Acts xvii. 30; 2 Thess. ii. 11, 12; Rom. i. 24.

V. Our proposition is manifest by their strange affinity with transgressors, but void of all love and joy worthy of their spiritual and moral natures. Verse 32.

VI. Their legitimate title to wrath is proven by their judgment of themselves in the person of others. Rom. ii. 1-3. Remark that they indeed suspended their judgment concerning themselves by sinister deceptions. This is obvious from their keen sense of the wrong of the same thing in others. Their self-blind-

ness was voluntary. They did violence to their intellect and reason, that they might gratify a vicious heart.

VII. By their subsidizing the goodness of God from its legitimate tendency, viz: — to lead to repentance, to the hardening of their hearts in sin. Verses 15 and 16. Also Eccles. viii. 11. Thus did they heap up wrath against the day of wrath.

VIII. By the equity of the judge. Verse 11. Is. iii. 10. Psalms xcvii. 2. Ez. xviii. 25. To this equity of the judge, the human conscience, long stultified, deceived, and even seared, will at last speak out, and bear testimony. It will at the day of Judgment condemn them, and vindicate God in their condemnation. Verses 15, 16.

IX. By the incurable extent of their unrestrained guilt as seen in the manifestations of God's destructive wrath in the past. Instances: — God's abandonment of the Heathen to themselves,— verse 24. Also in the destruction of the old world,— of the inhabitants of Sodom, and God's judicial visitation of the Jews. All these were but the legitimate remedies of desperate guilt,— a guilt from which Divine compassion itself could not withhold wrath.

In conclusion let us re-state the argument. We have seen that —

1. They knew God from the Creation. From the Creation both as to the date and the source of their knowledge.

2. They knew enough of God to involve moral responsibility, viz: — his Eternal Power and Godhead, and it was the triumph of a bad heart over the remonstrance of judgment and conscience that put their idols in his place.

3. They held this truth,— his Power and Godhead, involving his proprietorship,— in unrighteousness. This truth they changed into a lie, (idols are "lies.") and deliberately spoiled upon the known rights of God.

4. They denied the rights of his known proprietorship, and deliberately robbed God of themselves with

all their susceptibilities and powers, and of all the surroundings of his munificence, and sacrificed them all upon the altar of their own lusts. If they worshiped idol gods, it was the worship of their own passions, represented and deified in and by gods of their own device. They sacrificed the Creator for the creature.

5. They showed themselves godless in their depravity, and unrighteous in their spoliations on the rights of others. In the fearful excess of their lusts they did violence to the laws of their own nature, prostituting their own bodies to the most unnatural crimes, and not sparing even the lives of others when the gratification of their own lusts demanded the sacrifice.

6. Possessed of this murderous hate toward their fellows, they still had affinity with them in guilt,— an affinity of lustful pleasure, utterly void of love, and involving all the elements of a sinister conspiracy against the known rights of a known God.

7. They did all this against themselves,— against their own better judgments. They had a keen discernment of the rights of others with which they guarded those same rights in themselves, and so condemned themselves in condemning others for violating them.

8. With this conciousness of their own wrong-doing they perverted the very goodness and forbearance of God from its legitimate tendency to lead them to repentance to an encouragement to the increase and excess of crime.

9. Finally, we have seen that the spirit of apostasy from God has from the beginning involved the elements of infinite crime, by those instances in which unrestrained of God it reached such a fearful and incurable extent as to constrain a God of equity, a God whose attributes of love enter into all his acts,— even the declaration and execution of his wrath, — to constrain, I say, such a God to execute his wrath upon them to their utter destruction.

This is but the summing up of the Apostle's argu-

ment in which by a chain of logic, every link of which is truth itself, yea self-evident truth, he has brought us to the conclusion that the proposition with which we set out is true, and consequently that the condemnation of the Heathen rests not upon construction, or arbitrarily imputed guilt, but upon guilt assumed and wrought into an actual verity in each individual soul of an apostate.

We close with the remark that the justification of such by the deeds of the law, or by any other possessed or anticipated virtue on their part is impossible. Without the redemption which is in Christ, their case is hopeless, and their condemnation just.

LECTURE VI.

ROM. II. 10–16.— *The Impartial Judgment of Men according to their Work or Understanding.*

Prop.— Without partiality God will judge men according to the understanding with which they act, whether as revealed by the light of nature, or in the revelation to Moses.

God's dealings with men are without partiality. His motives are from himself or in himself. He is not moved from without. His pleasure is the harmony of his own attributes. Injustice would jar upon them all; hence, he condemns injustice and approves of righteousness on their own merits in all his creatures alike. Partiality is therefore impossible with God. Therefore it is that he declares that "as many as have sinned without law shall perish without law, and as many as have sinned with the law shall be judged by the law." The impartial justice of God will deal with men according to the demerit of their sin. Nor is his justice slow to recognize obedience to either the natural, or the revealed law. The Gentiles, having not the law, are a law to themselves. The works of the law (not

the law) are written on their hearts, and their consciences, taking cognizance of the manner in which they treat its teaching, approve or condemn.

Let it be noticed that some of its dictates are not offensive to the selfishness of an apostate heart. For obedience to them, conscience approves, while all violation of them it disapproves. God may see all the veins of sin running through all their sinister obedience. But the prerogative of conscience is to reprove for only known wrong, nor will God condemn them for any deed that is in harmony with his law, but for the sinister spirit with which they did it. Jews and Gentiles must abide the test of their own law. We have seen that the law of nature condemns the Heathen and renders them obnoxious to Divine wrath.

LECTURE VII.

ROM. II. 17 – 29. — *The Same, but with Reference to the Jews.*

The Jews had in their revealed law a fuller and clearer revelation of their duties to both God and man, and this law their consciences approved. They knew it was right and they gloried in it. Their pride took occasion to glory in so perfect a standard. Of this approving of their conscience, and of this glorying they made a virtue. And even while in their lives they violated every precept of it they gathered solace and self-approval from such possession and approval. They set themselves up as lights and guides to men. They taught its precepts to others, but disobeyed them all in their own lives. They abhorred idols, but committed sacrilege, and this hypocrisy they carried to such an extent as to cause the name of their God to be blasphemed among the Gentiles.

ROM. II. 25 – 29.— *Continuation of the Above.*

Circumcision certifies the doom of the transgressor, as it prophetically proclaims the cutting off of the

Messiah,— the sinner's substitute. If they received it in faith, they would be cut off with their substitute, and so fulfilled the law by faith,— the only way they could keep it. Then would it "profit," for having received their vengeance in their substitute, they would be personally exempt. Or if the circumcised would keep the law, then the same justice which would cut off the transgressor, would justify them. But the Jews did not keep the law,— not one of them,— and so the circumcised became as the uncircumcised, and condemned by even the incidental obedience of the Gentiles. Possessed as they were of the revealed law and of circumcision, and understanding its testimony, their disobedience involved an increase of guilt over and above that of the uncircumcised. Indeed, he is not a Jew who is one outwardly,— *i. e.*, who lacks the righteousness of the law of the Jews, and also the righteousness which is by faith, which is described by the circumcision of the heart.

The Jews are thus convicted of even deeper guilt than that of the Gentiles.

LECTURE VIII.

ROM. III. 1–8.

The Apostle convicts them of another fearful sin, viz: — of converting God's sovereign faithfulness into an apology for sin. They had indeed advantages over the Gentiles,— chiefly in that to them were committed the oracles of God. By those oracles the salvation of the vile through the faith or faithfulness of God was revealed to them, and that this salvation also redounded to his glory, and that his grace and glory were magnified by the exceeding sinfulness of the saved. They affirmed that the Apostles in preaching the doctrine of sovereign grace in effect said,— "Let us do evil that good may come." The apostle affirms that they who thus perverted the truth, justly deserved damnation.

ROM. III. 9–18.

The Jews are therefore no better than the Gentiles. In God's sight they are all on the dead level of sin.

Verse 10. There are none righteous.

Verse 11. None see, or seek after God.

Verse 12. All are destitute of virtue or good deeds.

Verse 13. All involve murder and deceit in their character.

Verse 14. All are utterly malignant toward God and man.

Verse 15. All are swift to shed blood.

Verse 16. All are in the way of destruction and misery.

Verse 17. None know the way of peace.

Verse 18. None are restrained by reverence for God.

On this dreadful dead level of sin, of excuseless guilt and condemnation, stands a fallen world, both Jewish and Gentile. In circumstantial detail there may be, and are, vast differences, but all alike stand on this dreadful plane of infinite and condemning guilt. All (verse 19.) are under the legitimate jurisdiction of the law. "By the law is the knowledge of sin." Its prerogative is not to save, but to condemn the guilty. This it does justify, so that every mouth shall be stopped, and the world become guilty, or self-condemned before God.

LECTURE IX.

ROM. III. 21–26.— *The Necessity of the Atonement of Christ.*

These verses involve the atoning sacrifice of Christ and the justification of the sinner through faith in that sacrifice as the only way in which God can be just in his justification. Let us then in the first place enquire concerning justification itself.

I. Justification as set forth in these passages is the act of a justifier. It is an act of distributive justice,— a judicial act of God, giving voice to his own law.

Pronounced in the favor of men, it is the declaration that they are righteous in the eye of the law. It is the judicial declaration of God concerning man. And so it is distinguished from the recovering work of the Spirit in the cure of the man. It is a declaration concerning him as he is in the sight of the law, but proposes no change in the man himself.

II. Justification in itself is an act of simple justice. It is the judicial utterance of the law itself, and if truthful is ever predicated upon supposed perfect righteousness before the law, and hence is distinguished from the act of pardon, which always supposes guilt. The judge would not be just, who should justify the *guilty*, and it would be an insult for the Sovereign to pardon the *innocent*. The distinction is obvious.

III. Justification belongs not to the legislative, but to the executive department of government, and is either administrative or judicial, but in either case, to be in harmony with law, it must be predicated upon righteousness in the subject of its action or decision. It is the prerogative of both the administrative and judicial function of government to maintain the claims of the law without infraction. The *pardoning power* is with the decretive department alone. If this be so, then it may well be asked, how can a just God justify the sinner, the transgressor? Indeed, our text implicitly declares that without the vicarious righteousness and sacrifice of Christ, God could not be just in his justification. The law demands sinless righteousness, or the *life* of the transgressor. If therefore there be no vicarious righteousness to be reckoned to the sinner, his doom is certain. We have before proved that there is none righteous, no not one; — that they are all under sin, and the legitimate condemnation of the law. The law provides for no repentance, no reform. Repentance and reform therefore could not avail to justify. Indeed, evangelical repentance confesses and confirms the guilt, and says "amen" to the sentence of the law. Evangelical repentance would itself pronounce the

judge unjust who should justify the sinner. No change therefore in the sinner can ever be the ground of evangelical justification. Without a vicarious righteousness and sacrifice justification could never reach a fallen man. His case would be hopeless forever. God's justice is as inflexible as his throne is stable and permanent.

IV. That the atonement is indispensable to the sinner's justification will appear in view of the results which must follow justification without it.

1. If without it God should justify a sinner, and such are all the human race, he would thereby impeach himself as legislator. It would be compromising his own law. If right in his failure to strictly execute it, it proves him to have been unrighteous when he made it, and gave it to the Universe. A law that is unjust in its execution, was unjust in its enactment. God could plead no want of foresight in its enactment, and if he is just in compromising it now, he must have been unjust as a legislator. So that any scheme of justification without vicarious sacrifice or atonement impeaches God.

2. The penalty of the law is a part of the law itself; — remove the penalty and it ceases to be a law. It dwindles at once into a mere request. The penalty of God's law is eternal death. The law as certainly promises death to the transgressor as it does life to the obedient. As the administrator would forfeit his integrity in separating obedience and life under it, so also would he forfeit his integrity, if he separated transgression and vengeance. If therefore the law be just, then transgression and vengeance are inseparable in its sacred and holy execution. If God as executive should spare the transgressor from death, or deprive the righteous of life, he would thereby stand impeached of want of fidelity to his high trust, and of injustice. To be impeached as the executive of just legislation for want of fidelity to its law — of neglect to execute its enactments, is to be impeached of no ordinary guilt

even in a Civil Ruler. How much more in him who has called the Universe to take shelter under the justice of his law, and the justice of his hand,— under the integrity of his administration! The law with its penalty was ordained to life, and in the integrity of its administration is the peace, the safety, and the *life* of the moral Universe. To prevent this, God has set forth the propitiation of Christ. Surely its necessity is imperative.

V. The necessity of the vicarious sacrifice will be farther seen when we consider that if God could justify or save the sinner without it, then it may be asked, — why should he have awaked the sword of Justice to to smite the man that was his fellow? Why bruise him for our offenses? Why lay *on him* the *iniquity of us all*? Why put him to grief? If his compassion could reach its object without it, if he could be just in justifying the ungodly without it, why that dreadful visitation,— that terrible infliction? Was it anything short of wanton cruelty,— of unparalleled injustice? Not so have angels and men been in the habit of viewing the sufferings of the cross!

VI. Aside from the necessity and doctrine of the vicarious atonement thereby shadowed forth, the entire system of sacrificial offerings as prescribed by the law of Moses was a system of meaningless and bloody atrocity worthy only the worship of a Moloch! If mercy could without violence to justice have reached the sinner directly from God, and without the sacrifice of Christ, the innocent and pure, then indeed the suffering of the cross would seem as wanton and as cruel as it was needless. But it was not needless. Without it God could not have been just in sparing men from that terrible penalty incurred in the violation of his just and holy law, and man had ever remained without hope and without God.

> Oh! Christ must die,— heaven's wrath on him must fall,
> Or death,— *eternal death*,— had whelmed us all.

LECTURE X.

ROM. III. 21 – 26.— *Christ a Lawful Sacrifice because Divine.*

Prop. Christ only because of his Divinity was a lawful sacrifice. For the following reasons: —

I. No created being even with his own consent could with justice suffer instead of and for the guilty the penalty of a violated law. Because

1. The rights of all beings, moral and intelligent, are individual and sacred. True, these rights are God-given, but when given they are sacred, and guarded by the moral integrity and physical omnipotence of God. The rights and the safety of the concrete moral Universe are secure and safe in the safety of each individual. Any scheme, therefore, which would involve either by consent or compulsion, the sacrifice of the rights of either the most insignificant or the most exalted of the moral and holy family would be an infraction of the rights of the whole world.

2. Besides this, moral rights involve moral duties. Each individual is part and parcel of the great whole. To the great moral concrete he himself with all his susceptibilities and powers belongs. This moral circle of social obligation consists of God and all created moral intelligences. God has himself pledged his care and protection to all his moral subjects. And on the other hand his moral subjects are chained to him with deathless ties of duty. They are, moreover, bound by paternal bonds of duty to every other subject of the Divine government. These inherent and perpetual bonds as embodied in the two great tables of the law are recognized by Christ as the legitimate basis of statutory enactment, defining the duties of man. For any one therefore to sacrifice himself to penal infliction due to and for the guilt of another would be in violation of the rights of all others. It would be a robbery perpetrated upon the rights of the whole. Nor is it less incompatible with justice for God to make such a

sacrifice. With all due reverence, it would seem to be in direct contravention of his assumed and proclaimed responsibilities to his creatures. It would seem to be an infraction upon his part both of the rights of the individual sacrificed, and of the rights of the community from which in violation of his social ties he is abstracted for such a sacrifice. It is obvious therefore that if Christ be not divine,— if his susceptibilities and powers be derived and limited, if they be finite,—he could not in justice be made a sacrifice, or in other words, be subjected to that infinite wrath to which man was obnoxious.

II. It remains to be considered that all these objections are obviated by the fact that though Christ took our nature in union with his own yet in all the work of Redemption the infinite functions of the Eternal God were never suspended, absent, or inactive for a moment. His being Divine made the sacrifice a lawful one. Christ being infinite (in the absolute sense) could endure the infinite (in the relative sense.) The penalty due to man could not be absolutely infinite for it had a beginning, and so could not be infinite as to time. And it could not be infinite as to quantity, for no finite creature could sustain such a penalty. I say *he* could endure it without infraction of the pledged dues of the Godhead to the moral Universe. *He* had power to lay down his life, and *he* had power to take it again. Though he made himself an offering yet he himself remained to fill his relations to all created intelligences, unsuspended and unmarred. In the sacrifice of himself, therefore, he did no violence to the rights of others.

Being God he owned himself, which cannot be said of any created being. In giving himself therefore he gave but *his own*. And if he did it without disturbing the rights of others, even their derived rights, he did but exercise in a just manner the prerogatives of his Divine Sovereignty. There is an old axiom of law,— "The right of the possessor is absolute, if there be

none to dispute it." The sacrifice of Christ as the penal substitute for man was lawful. It was in harmony with eternal judgment.

LECTURE XI.

ROM. III. 21-26.—*Was the Sacrifice an Adequate One?*

In answering this, four questions arise, viz: — 1. Was Christ Divine? 2. Was he very man? 3. Did the complex person of Christ give itself one and undivided for the sacrifice? 4. Did vengeance due the transgressor fall on him to the full amount?

QUESTION I.—WAS CHRIST DIVINE?

I. Christ himself claims to be God. He claims the worship of God. John v. 21-23. Here he claims Omnipotence in the crowning miracle of the Resurrection. John x. 37. The Only Begotten. Heb. i. 5. The term "Son" needs explanation; he *inherits* the name of "Son" while angels and men are called the "Sons of God" by creation and adoption. Jesus is the Only Begotten,—there is a personal identity. In John. xiv. 9, 10, the Father is said to be in Christ. He claims this in perfect candor. See also Matt. xix. 17. He is either Divine, and so worthy the name of God, or else he is an impostor.

II. His titles proclaim him God.

1. He is called "Son" in Heb. i. 2-4; Rom. i. 4; Luke xxii. 70; Mark xiv. 62; Matt. xvi. 16.

2. He is called "God" in Heb. i. 8; Matt. i. 23, also xix. 17; John i. 1. In this last text we have plainly set forth,— 1. The plurality of persons in the Godhead. 2. The Unity of the Godhead. 3. The Eternal Godhead of Christ,—the Creator of all being, and the origin of all moral in man or angel. In John viii. 58, we have the pre-existence of Christ. See also 1 John v. 20; John iii. 13 and 31; vi. 38; xvi. 28; also xvii. 24.

N. B. It is a rule with grammarians that when in

the ancient languages two substantives are connected with the copulative with but one article, and that preceding the first substantive, the latter refers to the same thing as the former. This rule is very important, since no stronger passages can be found to prove the Divinity of Christ, than the following, which owing to the ignorance or oversight of the translator have been rendered incorrectly. Titus ii. 13; 2. Thess. i. 12; Ephes. v. 5; 1. Tim. v. 21; 2. Peter i. 1.

Notice also that the name "Jehovah" is only given to God. "Jehovah" is equivalent to "Lord" in the Old Testament. See Amos v. 8; Ps. lxxxiii. 18; Is. xlii. 8. Also, John xii. 48, cf.; Is. vi. 1-3. Also, Is. xl. 3, cf.; Matt. iii. 1-3; Jer. xxiii. 56, cf., Is. ix. 6.

QUESTION II.—WAS CHRIST VERY MAN?

I. He assumed the entire *nature* of manhood, but not its *moral* disease. See Gen. iii. 15. God describes Christ as the seed of the woman, when confronting Satan in the Garden. Satan was doomed to utter defeat by that which should proceed from his victim. The seed of the woman should bruise his head.

II. It was necessary that Christ should be under the law to redeem those that were under it. Gal. iv. 4-5. This must be so for two reasons,—

1. That he might obey the law and recognize its authority.

2. That its penalty might rest upon him.

III. As mediator, he guarded the interests of God, and cared for the interests of man. See Job ix. 33; 1. Tim. ii. 5, cf.; Luke ii. 52. The law measures its demands on men according to the development of the man. The law took hold of and laid its claims upon the perfect man,—Adam, perfect in all the elements of his being. And so Christ when he assumed our nature, assumed it in its perfect development. He has also proved clearly the righteousness of God's law, because under it, and in our nature, he worked out a perfect righteousness. Erskine says, "Satan snapped at the

bait of Christ's humanity and was caught on the hook of his divinity." See Is. vii. 14-16. Bearing on this subject is an able critique on the 16th verse in Matt. Henry's Commentary. See also Heb. ii. 9, *et seq.* From this and the preceding passage I prove that Christ's manhood was gradually and yet fully developed, as the manhood was developed. Notice especially the 17th verse,—"Wherefore in *all* things it behoved him to be made *like* unto his brethren."

QUESTION III.—DID THE DIVINITY SUFFER?

Having arrived at the conviction that the Divine personality of Christ existed before his incarnation, and that the Divine personality is preserved in all its integrity in the incarnation, and also that in the incarnation he assumed our nature complete and entire, but without the sinfulness of man, and with which his nature is tainted, we proceed to inquire,—"Did Christ in his complex nature or being give himself as the sacrificial offering?" Or in other words,—"Did his whole being, involving his Divinity, suffer?"

I. The Scriptures speak of him as being a *unit* in his sufferings. See Gal. i. 4; Tit. ii. 14; Heb. vii. 27, and ix. 14 and 28; Is. liii.; Luke xxiv. 26; 1. Peter, iii. 18, and iv. 1. The idea that Christ was divided in his work, especially in his great main work, the indispensable cardinal work of Redemption, is utterly incompatible with the integrity of the transaction. It would seem to leave the assertion that Christ died an utter untruth. It would leave but a human sacrifice after all. It may well be asked how it would differ from the sacrifice of Paul. There are objections however which must be stated.

Obj. 1. It was Christ's humanity suffered on the altar of his Divinity.

Ans. Divinity is no altar. No altar was ever a type of Divinity. The Jewish altars represented the claims of law, whether for blood or for service. Justice was the altar on which Christ suffered.

Obj. 2. God cannot suffer.
Ans. See Gen. vi. 6; Ps. lxxviii. 40; Is. lxiii. 9.

QUESTION IV.—THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

I. The sufferings of Christ were a veritable transaction, not of construction, but of real magnitude, when he stood as the sinner's substitute to receive the penalty of God's violated law,—a penalty which was not abated, but inflicted and received to the full extent of legal justice. Notice that—

His sufferings were a penal infliction from the hand of God. The sufferings of the flesh were a small matter, and merely incidental. They were the filling up of the malice of the Jews; but they did not take the Saviour's life; they were not the infliction of the penalty. John x. 18. The sufferings of the Lord did not consist in the scourgings of the flesh, etc. In this he was our Great Exemplar, and of this cup, we, his followers, partake. John x. 18. Christ suffered *in*, not *through* the flesh. For "without the shedding of blood there is no remission," etc.—*i. e.*, without life. Matt. xxvi. 31, cf.; Zech. xiii. 7. The smiting was from God. The infliction was penal. "He trod the winepress alone, and of the people there was none with him."

II. The penalty of the law of God, which man had violated, was death. Now what was the death which Christ endured for us, and from which he saved them that believe? Not temporal death.

1. Temporal death is not the penalty of God's law, but ordained on the account of Christ. See Rom. viii. 20.

2. From this death Christ does not save his people, for they do die. Put in the form of a syllogism it stands thus:—

He saves his people from the death penalty.
He does not save them from temporal death.
Ergo:—Temporal death is not the death penalty.

3. The penalty which will follow judgment is not

temporal death, but an abiding curse. The wrath of God reaped is an eternal reward. The penalty which will follow the judgment is not temporal death. Syllogized thus:—

The death penalty does not precede, but follows judgment.

Temporal death precedes the judgment.

Ergo:—Temporal death is not the death penalty.

4. Christ suffered the penalty of sin; therefore he suffered that death which is the antithesis of Eternal Life. Gen. ii. 16-17; Rev. ii. 2, and xx. 6; John, v. 24; Rom. vi. 23; John. vi. 50, and xi. 26; also iii. 15.

III. Two things more remain to be noticed in confirmation of the conclusion to which we have arrived, that the death which Christ suffered was not the temporal, but the penal death,—that death which is the antithesis of Eternal Life.

1. His sufferings preceded his temporal death. He suffered in the flesh, not out of it. See 1. Peter iii. 18, and iv. 1.

The promise to the dying thief that he should be with him in Paradise; that cry, "My God, my God," etc., being limited to matters between him and God alone; the assertion, "It is finished," uttered before the death of his body show that his sufferings were penal, and preceded temporal death, and that his was the death which Judicial wrath will inflict on apostate man,—on all who are not saved by grace.

2. All nature felt the shock of his woe. The sun refused to shine, the earth quaked and trembled, the rocks were rent, and the veil of the temple was parted, and the repose of the grave disturbed—the repose of death broken up. At this tremendous period, a Greek philosopher is said to have exclaimed,—"Either nature is coming to an end, or the God of nature suffers."

LECTURE XII.

ROM. III. 21–26.—*The Nature of the Sacrifice, or the Atonement available by Faith.*

We proceed next to inquire after the nature of this atoning sacrifice as it relates to man. I shall not discuss the question whether it be a limited or a general atonement in the usual or formal statement of that question, but endeavor to get strictly a biblical view of it. To do so I will submit a few distinct propositions concerning it.

I. Both the righteousness and the sacrifice are intrinsically ample to meet the necessities of all men. They are both infinite in perfection and fullness to present any and all men perfect before the law, if imputed to them. Both are infinite, and both in man's nature and behalf, and if put to the account of any man before the law, they will vindicate God in justifying him,—man. This is the righteousness which Christ has wrought out, and brought in. Dan. ix. 24; Rom. iii. 21, 22, 26, and v. 17, 18, 21; 1 John. ii. 2.

II. The righteousness and sacrifice of Christ are proclaimed of God as free to all, and as ample for all who without price shall accept it. Is. lv.; 1 Ezek. xviii. 32; Rev. xxii. 17; Acts x. 43; Rom. iv. 5, ix. 33; 1. Peter ii. 6.

III. They are declared to be limited in their saving effect only by their rejection on the part of man. John. iii. 19, 36, v. 40; Rom. i. 16.

N. B. On those who reject this provision there is an increase of guilt. 2. Cor. ii. 16; Heb. x. 29.

IV. Faith in this atoning righteousness and sacrifice makes them ours, and justly entitles us to justification before God. So that as our text—Rom. iii. 26—declares God is just in justifying him that believetn in Jesus. Let us therefore inquire what that faith, that peculiar grace is, which secures the justification of the soul, and then how it justifies.

What is Evangelical Faith?

I. It is distinguished from charity, which is the state of the heart. It is a synonym,—*i. e.*, charity is a synonym for the word "love," "kindness." It is the grace of impartation,—impartation universal, and of embrace universal for that which is pure. This is indeed *in* faith, but it is *not* faith.

II. It is not hope. Hope is desire and expectation. What a man desires and expects, that he hopes for. With this grace faith is often blended, but from it, it should ever be distinguished.

III. Affirmatively. Faith, like hope, is made up of two parts,—Fidelity and Trust. In other words it is *sticking to and trusting in.* It holds fast, and unconditionally confides in. I have thought that Faith and Hope are a beautiful pair of graces. Faith is the sturdy perfection of athletic manhood, Hope the perfection of genuine loveliness. Beautiful are they when together, but Faith more beautiful, when, leaving Hope behind, he breasts the storm alone. Faith, Hope, Charity, like the three holy children. Dan. iii.

How does Faith Justify?

I. Faith makes the righteousness and sacrifice of Christ our own. It makes them both in the sight of God the outgrowth of the believer's heart, *i. e.*, just the same as if the righteousness and sacrifice of Christ were our own, and had been wrought out by ourselves. All the elements of Christ's righteousness are in faith. They are fully developed in Christ, and Christ is pledged fully to develop them in the believer. Rom. viii. 1-10, ix. 30; Gal. iii. 9.

II. Faith does not make void one jot or title of the law, yea, it establishes the law. See Rom. iii. 31, Rom. i. 17.

III. To faith God imputes the righteousness of the law, or in other words, the righteousness of Christ that fulfills it, both his obedience and sacrifice. Rom. iv. 3; vi. 8-25.

LECTURE XIII.

ROM. III. 31.— *Justification by Faith.*

Prop. — Justification by faith magnifies the law of God.

I. It makes justification to rest upon nothing short of a complete righteousness.

It will be remembered that the sinner is justified by, through, and not for, or on account of faith. Faith identifies the believer with Christ, and receives justification only for and under the claims of his righteousness. Personally it (justification) falls on them as a gracious or gratuitous favor; but on the account of Christ's imputed righteousness, so that in the eye of the Universe, the high and sacred claims of the law are fully met. This righteousness of Christ includes the sacrifice of himself as the sinner's substitute. This also faith appropriates, and thus gives testimony to the law's equitable, and sacred, and inflexible demand for vengeance. It thus establishes the great fact to the universe, that transgression and vengeance are never separated, and never can be under the government of God.

II. Justification by faith magnifies both the guilt and the fearful results of sin and transgression.

Even the compassion of God will not — cannot stay the vengeance which is due. How inconceivably great, cruel and atrocious, is that guilt which deserves such vengeance, and which calls for such a sacrifice at the hand of God in order to save the transgressor!

III. It magnifies God's estimate of his own law and his hatred of sin and transgression. Under the pressure of his infinite love he will not pardon till the claims of the law have been fully indemnified by the substitutional sacrifice and righteousness of his only Son. Nor then until Christ becomes responsible for the justified in himself and pardoned by him in the future. See Heb. vii. 22; also 1 Cor. i. 30.

IV. Justification by faith promotes personal holiness. So far from being a doctrine of license to sin, as its enemies allege, it ensures increasing holiness unto perfection.

1. Faith itself works by love and purifies the heart. Faith, *evangelical* faith, by all its saving energy, repels sin and promotes holiness. Sin is the opposite of faith, which works the cure of sin.

2. Justification by faith pledges the veracity of Christ and the Spirit's power to sanctify and make the believer holy, and plies the soul with motives to holiness of surpassing magnitude and power. The "mark" of faith, the prize of faith, and the reward of faith is freedom from sin — is holiness. The inspiration of its heaven is that there is no sin there — there is holiness there.

3. Justification by faith slays the pride of the heart, which probably prompted the first sin of our race, and is the demon angel of apostasy still. It promotes humility, and arms the soul by all its gracious emotions of gratitude for God's saving mercy against sin.

LECTURE XIV.

ROM. IV. 2. — *Abraham the Prototype of the Believer.*

Prop. — In justifying faith we have Abraham to be our father, *i. e.*, Abraham is the prototype of all believers, whose faith unites them to Christ as the ground of their justification. See Gen. xv. 5, 6; also Gal. iii, 16; also John viii. 56.

Remark.—The atonement had a retrospective power; by virtue of it Enoch, Noah, and a few pious souls were saved. But their perceptions of it must have been vague and shadowy. Hints of it were given in the early establishment of sacrificial worship, and perhaps in ways, to us, unknown. But the Trinity, the Sonship of Christ, and the incarnation began more distinctly to be revealed to Abraham, especially the incarnation. He

saw the day of Christ — no doubt in the enlightening visions of the Spirit opening to him the mysterious words of promise. He believed God, and hence by faith saw God incarnate in his seed descending through Isaac — to the seed in whom all nations of the earth should be blessed. The divine Sonship and the sacrifice of that Son, though yet wrapped in much mystery, was brought home to his believing, trusting heart, by the sacrifice of his own son, so that his faith took hold of Christ with the functions of his substitution, his righteousness, and his sacrifice. Of that righteousness and of that sacrifice his faith took hold and God graciously imputed it to him. His faith took hold of and appropriated the righteousness of Christ which was perfect. And God imputed, not the righteousness of his own act of faith even, but the righteousness of Christ of which his faith took hold, to him for righteousness; *i. e.*, God reckoned the righteousness of Christ to Abraham as if it were indeed his own. It is this definiteness, this saving effectiveness of his faith which makes him the ancient prototype and father of all them that believe on Christ. The act of his faith was a pious act. In the love of that righteousness which his faith set before him were, in embryo, the elements of Christ's righteousness. This gave him a living identity with it. In giving him faith, God gave him the righteousness which Christ brings near. See Is. xlv. 24; Psalms iv. 1; Is. xlvi. 13. Here Calvinism and Arminianism part company. The latter says that it was the act of Abraham's faith that was reckoned to him for righteousness — the former, that the object of his faith, viz: the righteousness of Christ was imputed to him. *It* was "brought nigh to him;" his faith took hold of it and it was reckoned to him and salvation was his. So all that are of like faith, the Apostle says, are blessed with (not on account of) faithful Abraham. This matter is put in a very clear light in Paul's reference to Abraham in verses 2-5. "For if Abraham were justified by works, he would have whereof to glory, but

not before God. For what saith the Scripture —Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness." Now the act of faith was work. "This is the work of God, that ye believe on Christ whom he hath sent." Now not *for*, but *in* this work of faith was he blessed. All his works are excluded from the ground of his justification; it was therefore for the sake of, and in the rights of the object of his faith — *i. e.*, Christ and his righteousness, that he was justified. And clearer still, it may be, is this passage made by Paul's quotation from David —"Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputed righteousness without works, saying, 'Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin.'"

LECTURE XV.

ROM. IV. 11–12.— *The Seal of Abraham's Faith.*

Prop.— Abraham received the sign of circumcision — a seal of the righteousness of *his faith*, which he had when he was uncircumcised that he might be father or prototype of the uncircumcised believer. Under this let me notice several things.

I. When did he receive this seal? See Gen. xvii. Some say fourteen years and some twenty-five years after the promise. At any rate it was after Ishmael had grown to be a lad and Isaac was born, while the promise was given before he left Ur of the Chaldees. Then he received it, not for himself, but for others.

II. Of what was it a sign, and what did it seal? Circumcision was both a sign and a seal. It was a seal of the promise of Christ, and a sign of the cutting off of Christ. The figurative signification of circumcision is death by the law. It signifies

1. The cutting off of Christ by the law, he being made under the law, and standing as the substitute for the Jews under its condemnation. He was cut off for

them as says Isaiah, "For he was cut off out of the land of the living, for the transgression of my people was he stricken." Is. liii. 8.

2. It was a seal, not of the righteousness of Abraham, but of the righteousness of his faith. One can conceive of Abraham's being righteous, and yet believing and trusting in a promise which might prove untrue; but in that case his faith would not be righteous. It would be a delusion. It would be gratifying to know that Abraham was righteous or pious, but it is a matter of vastly greater moment for after ages to know that his faith in the Messiah promised was not a delusion, but righteous and truthful. He believed a promise which contained the world's hope; he trusted in the Saviour promised; in his righteousness and sacrifice; the righteousness or truthfulness of that faith would be of incalculable interest to those who from that testimony should believe on the same Christ. Now of the righteousness of that faith circumcision was the seal; it marked in the flesh the descendants of Abraham till the seed should come to whom and concerning whom the promise was made. Circumcision was one of that concatenation of circumstances in which it was impossible for God to lie. See Heb. vi. 18. It sealed the truth of the promise, and so the righteousness of that faith which relied upon it. True, in giving this seal of the promise to Abraham, God provided for the security of the seal itself by the covenant of circumcision. See Gen. xvii. 4-14. This covenant does not involve salvation, but on God's part the land of their inheritance, and his providential care over them in their temporal matters; and on their part they were even at the peril of excision to preserve the seal of the righteousness of Abraham's faith by circumcising every male child, and thus preserving the people of whom the seed should come distinct from all other peoples, that it might thus be a witness to a fulfillment of the promise, and of the righteousness of that faith which took hold of the promise and relied on the promised

seed. The covenant of circumcision which alone secured anything especially to the Jews was a mere incidental matter, and overlooked by the Apostle when he says, Gal. iii. 17: "And this I say, that the covenant which was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law which was four hundred and thirty years after cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect." Now dating back four hundred and thirty years from the giving of the law you pass the time of making the covenant of circumscision (Gen. xvii.) by about twenty-five years, and come to the time of the promise. Gen. xii. And the Apostle adds, (Gal. iii. 19,) "It — the law — was added because of transgression till the seed should come to whom the promise was made." Let it be remembered here that circumcision sealed nothing to the one who was circumcised, but in its continual administration through all the generations of the Jews it sealed or bore testimony to the righteousness of Abraham's faith, or the righteousness of that faith which Abraham had in the promised seed, to whom and on whom all must look and believe in order to be saved. Indeed, so far from sealing personal salvation to any one who received it, it signified that Christ would be cut off, and that he himself must be cut off with him, or perish forever.

LECTURE XVI.

ROM. IV. 11, 12.—*Continued, and 16th especially.*

Prop:—The promise of justification and salvation is *sure* to all the *seed* of Abraham — to all the seed of promise.

I will notice in this lecture two things.

I. Who are the seed of Abraham to whom it is sure?

II. The ground of its surety — being by faith, it is of grace.

I. Who are the seed? It was not his posterity through the law — his carnal posterity. Concerning

them God made a covenant with Abraham. See Gen. xv. 18, and xvii. 9. In pursuance of *this* covenant and these promises concerning his carnal or fleshly descendants, God established the covenant of circumcision and subsequently the law covenant with them at Sinai. But that of which circumcision in the flesh was a token was to them a covenant of death. To this Paul alludes in Heb. viii. 7-9. It is typified by Hagar the bondswoman. They were thus the legal church in bondage under the law, and bound down by the condemnation of their covenant broken. So Christ was made of a woman, made under the law, (being a Jew) that he might redeem them that were under the law — the children of the flesh, which are not the children of the promise.

1. The children of Abraham are those of like faith with Abraham. See Gal. iii. 6, 7 and 29. Of all such Abraham is the prototype and father; their heirship is one with his.

2. The children of promise are counted for the seed. Gal. iii. 16, and iv. 28. Rom. ix. 7-8, and viii. 9.

II. The promise is true to all the seed as above designated. It is sure to all the seed because, being by faith, it is of grace. In that is its surety.

1. Grace has based the promises upon conditions fulfilled in Christ. If legal it might fail as in the case of Adam, angels and the Jews, but redemption is a finished work,—*i. e.*, the covenant stipulations, which pledge both the power and the justice of God for its accomplishment. The promises of God, which save, are made to the Son, and are yea and amen in Christ to the glory of God.

2. Grace secures the end in the beginning of the work. In the bestowment of faith God gives the commencement of eternal life. Christ in them, in their hearts, in the beginning of the work, will be Christ in them in its completion.

3. Grace, which at the infinite expense of the life of Christ has begun, will surely complete the work. We

have confidence in him that hath surely begun the good work in your hearts, that he will carry it on until the day of the Lord Jesus.

LECTURE XVII.

ROM. V. 1–2.—*Peace with God.*

"Being justified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom also we obtain access by faith into the grace wherein we stand and rejoice in hope of the glory of God."

Remark:—Peace with God is the fruit, the result of justification by faith. In noticing the peace resulting from justification by faith, the Apostle keeps steadily in view the manner of obtaining it, viz., *by* faith and *through* Christ. This we shall do in contemplating the peace obtained. We, too, should keep it steadily in view while we examine this peace with God with all its relations and privileges.

I. We have peace with God's justice—his violated law. By faith in Christ, our substitute, we have suffered its penalty. The utmost farthing of its demand for vengeance for our guilty transgression was paid by him. Faith in him has transferred that payment to us. Our justification in him by faith being complete, and secured in the eternal perpetuity of his righteousness, our peace with God's justice, with his law, which we had violated, is perpetual and eternal.

II. We have peace from sin. The moral controversy of apostate nature, which is like the troubled sea when it cannot rest, is conquered by Christ. Faith gives us the victory in him. See 1 John, v. 4. And this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. The very nature which he has given us, in giving us faith, cannot sin. Grace ingrafts the word of God into the heart, and there under the hand of Christ, *it* bears its own fruit and will bear no other. There it will grow, thrive and bear fruit until every natural branch

is lopped off, and the scion absorbs and becomes the whole tree. Col. iii. 16. "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly," etc. Jas. i. 21. "Receive with meekness the ingrafted word." But again, Christ has pledged our perfection in holiness; faith takes hold of that pledge, and so we have peace from sin. 1. Cor. i. 30. "But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom," etc. Christ being made of God sanctification and righteousness to us, we are accepted of God in Christ as if we were *now* righteous and *already* sanctified, and our redemption is complete. It is a finished work. 2. Thes. ii. 13. "Because God from the beginning chose you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth." God in choosing them from the beginning pledged the energies of his Spirit for their sanctification. Ephes. v. 26, 27. "That he might sanctify and cleanse it,"—that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish. Remark that the perfected holiness of the church was the object of Christ's death. Faith says surely his life will accomplish that for which it was once laid down. Phil. iii, 12. "Not as if I had already attained," etc. Apprehended of Christ for perfection—faith expects it, and presses after it, so that being justified by faith, faith secures and hails the victory over the disturbing element of sin, and gives us even now the peace of holiness.

III. We have the peace of restored loyalty with its attendant privileges, citizenship and protection. By faith we have access into this grace wherein we stand. We are introduced into a state, a relation of peace. There is in it something secure, permanent and abiding. It is a *state* in which we *stand*, and have entered not as a transient visitor, but to a state in which we have a standing—a citizenship. This world in the economy of redemption is regarded as a revolted empire, and doomed as rebels against God, and Christ,

as having purchased a peace in our behalf. The divine reign is restored in Christ. As one of us, and as the head of the restored, Christ has a peace of his own into which by faith we are introduced,— a state of peace, in which we hold our relations to God in him, and of which state all the rights of citizenship are in him. John xiv. 27. "My peace I give unto you, not as the world giveth, give I unto you." His peace given in eternal right, and under the hand of almighty power; the instability of earthly bestowments did not belong to it. See Ephes. ii. 19. "Know therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God," and this through Christ. Ibid. verses 13 and 14. "But now ye, in Christ Jesus, who were sometime afar off, are made nigh by the blood of Christ; for he is our peace who hath made both one." They are henceforth his household to be cared for, his empire to be guarded and protected, and stones in the temple of his glory.

LECTURE XVIII.

ROM. V. 3–5. — *The Fruits of Justification by Faith continued.*

Prop.— Justification by faith does not stop with peace with God and its precious privileges. It secures us an harvest of good — of benefit from life's afflictions; it converts even them into a source of revenue of joy. Tribulations are of two quite distinct classes — the one class is composed of those which are disciplinary corrections from our Heavenly Father's hand,— the other is composed of sacrificial sufferings,— sufferings incurred in our warfare for Christ — our conflict with sin; such as Christ endured as our great Exemplar in his conflict with sin. The former class works our cure, they correct us as the chidings of a Father's love; — the latter class not only train for conflict, but work out for us a "far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." 2 Cor. iv. 17. The scars of the veteran soldier are his

crown; to the justified by faith both are an inheritance of spiritual advantage; both work our cure, but one does more, it works our honor and our glory.

Notice the order in which they work:—

I. Tribulation worketh patience; not in nature, for here it works impatience, but under the reign of grace even it works patience, a kind of spiritual — not philosophical, nor stoical, but spiritual — insensibility to pain. The living exercise of faith prevents the corroding anguish of afflictions as animal life preserves the stomach from being consumed by the powerful gastric juice, which is mighty to consume even it, if unprotected by life, and converts it into an instrument of health.

II. Faith works patience, and patience works experience; or to paraphrase it, it works through experience — an experimental knowledge of ourselves, of our weaknesses, of our necessities, and the experimental knowledge of God — of his grace, and of the firm hold he has on us, and so it giveth us light in darkness, it teacheth us to prize the lamp which God hath given us, it giveth us songs in the night, it tames and subdues our carnal, our selfish desires, and gives us a conscious victory. The crucifixion of Paul to the world crucified the world to Paul. It gives us an experimental knowledge of sin, which is the fruitful source of all tribulation, and so magnifies holiness, which is the normal state that needs no medicine. The language of the tried Christian is: —"But now I love thy law."

III. Experience works hope — experience of pain and deliverance in the past works desire and expectation of deliverance in the future. The night may be long and dark, but experience is as oil to the lamp of God's word. While it (the night) lasts, it gives assurance that the morning will come. The more experience, the more hope, for "the remembrance of the years of the right hand of the Most High," was David's antidote for despondency and fear. See Psalm lxxvii. 10.

IV. And hope maketh not ashamed. Unreasonable as it may seem to the carnal eye, mocked as it often

is by seeming delay, and scoffed at by unbelief, yet it maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost. It has in it such a testimony, and that so directly from the hand of God that its boldness, its confidence is preserved. These glorious results are exclusively the privilege of those who have a standing in Divine Grace by faith. Faith all the while connects them with the living fountain of grace, from which issues this sanctifying power, which causeth all things to work together for the good of God's elect, of them that are called. Faith, afflictions, patience, experience, and hope are wheels in the Divine providence working to a sure end, because and only because moved by a power directly emanating from the Holy Ghost. This is grace — this is the state in which the believer, being justified by faith, stands.

LECTURE XIX.

ROM. V. 6–11.— *Saving Grace — The Perseverance of the Saints.*

Prop.— Grace being sovereign, and its motive being in God, is persevering, and is here to accomplish the work begun in the hearts of believers.

I. This is pledged in the death and the resurrection of Christ.

1. In his death. His death was antecedent to all virtue in man, while we were yet without strength. It was an act free and sovereign, into which the piety of the saints did not enter, for as yet they had none; and if they are *now* or *afterwards* pious it is the *result* and not the *cause* of that act. If in the act results were taken into the account it was to make those results certain in the act. The production and not the existence of those results is the motive. Therefore by all the costliness of the act, the results are pledged. If no motive from the antecedent piety entered into that act of Christ, then the act of Christ's death with all its

designs and purposes are independent of, and can never be affected or disannulled from that source.

2. This is pledged in view of the object for which he died, viz: — The ungodly, "While we were yet in our sins." This shows conclusively that man's necessities and not his virtues entered into the motives of redeeming grace. If these necessities pressed for the commencement of the work upon the Divine mind, they will press for equal success in its completion. If anything transpiring in the creature could nullify or change the purpose of that work, it must have been foreseen, and would have prevented the work itself. Whatever were the purposes of Christ in that act, they must have been purposes of mercy to the lost — the vile. The desire of their recovery must have moved to the act; it follows that the accomplishment of that object was pledged in the act itself.

3. This is pledged in the peculiar and antecedent character of God's love in giving his Son to die. It was not only "while we were yet sinners," that Christ died for us, but it was then that God loved us. In another place it is said that "God so loved the world," etc.; but in this it is different, for "God commendeth his love toward *us*, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for *us*;" "The Good Shepherd giveth his life for the *sheep*;" hence the inference of the Apostle is conclusive — "Much more, then, being justified by his blood, we should be saved from wrath through him." If the *love* of Almighty God began the work at such expense, he will not fail to carry it out. To begin the work involved infinite suffering, to complete it involves the exercise of infinite power; and if the love of God will not stop at the former, it surely will not stop at the latter

4. It is pledged in the life of Christ. "If when we were enemies, we were reconciled by his death, much more being reconciled we shall be saved by his life." The death of Christ reconciled us to God by paying the debt which we owed to justice, and then by giving us

faith; in the exercise of the rights which his death secured to him, he gave us faith which made that payment ours, and so the reconciliation was complete. And now when he has already accomplished all this by his death, surely by his life the work will be carried forward to completion,—his living power will perfect that which his dying sacrifice has begun.

5. This is pledged by the earnest of heaven, enjoyed by those who are reconciled by his death. "Not only so, but we also joy in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement." The atonement, the reconciliation, was made when Christ died; that is, all the conditions of our salvation —our peace with God,—were wrought when Christ died. And now believers having received by faith that reconciliation, being justified by faith and having a *standing* in the grace of God, the very joy of heaven has commenced in their hearts. For before, they had joyed in themselves; they had joyed in the world, in its carnal pleasures, but now they joy in God. This is something new; this joy in God is a well of living waters, springing up unto eternal life.

'T is heaven begun below,
The bliss of heaven to know
E'en here.

LECTURE XX.

ROM. V. 12, *ad finem, omitting parenthesis.*

Salvation and damnation through two federal heads. The first and second Adam.

Prop. I. Condemnation came through the first Adam; "by one man, sin entered into the world, and death by sin." If in the first transgression there are mysteries we cannot solve, there are facts that we can know. It is a fact that Adam sinned; there is another fact equally obvious in metaphysics, viz., that in the order of nature the sinner is before the sin; only a sinner

sins. Sin is in the nature of him that sins. Sin entered into the world by entering into our nature, by infecting our race. Since Adam was made there has been no new creation; in every birth Adam has been multiplied; sin entered into all when it entered him. I leave the "how it entered" a mystery to be solved by the Counsellor in his own time. I take the facts as they are. *Sin* entered! No matter how sin comes, so far as its *character* is concerned. It involves the guilt of the sinner. If there was guilt in the act, there was guilt in the nature that conceived the act, at least, in the sight of God. "And death by sin." Matthew Henry says, "Death spiritual, temporal and eternal." In one sense, all the woes of earth are the results of sin, but speaking strictly, only the last is the penalty. The decisions of the judgment will inflict the penalty of sin; from that penalty Christ saves his people. That penalty entered with the entrance of sin, and from the moment of transgression it hung over the transgressor and his *sinning* race; and it hung there in equity and justice, based solely upon the guilt of the transgressor. And *so* death has passed upon all, for that all have sinned. It passed upon all precisely as it passed upon him—Adam. It passed upon all in him; all were in him. Had Adam been brought to judgment at once, all our race had perished in him. As Adam was multiplied, the race increased in him, the federal head. Like him they sinned in him and out of him; and death passed upon them as it did upon him. By his sin many were *made sinners;* he was our vital and our federal head; and all became sinners in him; and were doomed in him as their representative head.

Prop. II. So then as through one trespass, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, so also through one righteous act the free gift came upon all men, unto justification of life. "For as through the disobedience of one man the many were *made sinners*, so also through the obedience of one will the many be made righteous."

The word "made" is by some translated "constituted," but I see but little difference in the words. In Webster, "made" is one of the expletives of "constituted." I think divines have pushed this distinction too far; they would seem to have it, that the sin from the federal head was simply constructive sin, *i. e.*, reckoned sinners for his sake, when they personally were not sinners. And so with Christ, the second Adam; they interpret the words "made" or "constituted righteous" to mean that believers are justified by a purely constructive righteousness, while it strikes me that in both cases, the basis of the interpretation is their vital unity with both the sin and the righteousness of their respective representative heads, *i. e.*, by the impartation of sin by the one, and of righteousness by the other. I use the words "organic" and "representative," instead of the word "federal," or "federative," as more exactly expressing the relation of both Adam and Christ to their respective posterity. They are both, as it seems to me, the organic and the representative head, by no federal compact, but by a strictly organic structure, — a legitimate, equitable, or inherent relation. Sinners are condemned, not for Adam's act, but for Adam's sin, because Adam's sin is in them. And believers are justified, not for Christ's righteous act, but because Christ's righteousness is in them. True, in both cases the sin and the righteousness of the two organic and representative heads are imputed to them, and I would add, truthfully imputed, because both the sin and the righteousness are imparted. This position differs a little from what is generally esteemed orthodox; I wish you to receive it with care and investigation. I do not object to the doctrine of imputation, but of imputation without transformation or transmission. To imputation without transmission, there are, it seems to me, objections difficult to be disposed of. The Arminians hold that the death of Christ saves children from the condemnation of Adam's sin, while they are not sinners themselves, but pure, which is tantamount to saying, that if

Christ had not died, though personally innocent, God would have condemned them. This would make Christ to have died, not merely to save sinners, but to prevent God from condemning the innocent. Such a position is an impeachment of God, the habitation of whose throne is justice and judgment. See Ezekiel xviii. 2-4. I repeat, with imputation without transmission, it is difficult to answer this objection. So on the other hand, if imputation be without transmission, then why is faith indispensable to justification? Yet justification without faith is unknown to the Bible. I add, that imputation of righteousness to any one who has not *received it* by faith is equally unknown. Faith makes the righteousness of Christ our own, not merely in right, but in possession. With the heart man "believeth unto righteousness." The love of the righteousness of Christ in the heart, *is* the righteousness of Christ in the heart. Just as truly as the love of Adam's sin is Adam's sin in the heart; herein is Adam the figure of Christ. So far, transmission, and organic and representative imputation are alike and in both cases, equitable, and in harmony with the individuality of manhood, and the imputation strictly just. There is a difference between the two organic and representative heads noticed by the apostle from the 13th to the 17th verses.

LECTURE XXI.

ROM. V. 21.—*The Reign of Grace and the Reign of Sin Compared and Contrasted.*

I will first notice more distinctly the analogy between these two reigns of the first and second Adam, and then the contrast.

I. Both sin and righteousness reign to their respective ends, viz., death and life, by the vital energy of their own presence. The "virus" of sin and the "vis" of righteousness are co-extensive with their respective

reigns They are co-extensive with the reign of judgment through sin unto death, and the reign of grace through righteousness unto life. The guilt of the first sin from the organic head is transfused through the race, by virtue of which death reigns, or in other words judgment reigns through sin unto death. It slays the *sinner only;* even so by the transfusion of righteousness from Christ, the organic head of his race, his spiritual race, grace reigns through righteousness (not arbitrarily), but through righteousness unto eternal life. And in this the first Adam is a perfect figure of the second. As is the earthy, such are they also who are earthy, and as is the heavenly, such are they who are heavenly. In both we can see how the words of the Apostle are verified;—"by one many are made *sinners*," and are judged in equity to death, and "by one many are made *righteous*," and are legitimately judged to eternal life. I understand in both cases that the word "*many*" is the antithesis of the word "*one*," and not strictly numerical. In another respect, the analogy of the two reigns is strikingly apparent, viz., the entrance of the statutory law by Moses commenced the reigns of both sin and grace. From Adam to Moses death reigned because from Adam to Moses sin reigned in the race, but with this distinction — it was not in transgression of statutory but of strictly moral law; in carnal and selfish hostility to holiness. The moral law — the law of righteousness — is eternal, and its appeals to sentient beings constant and authoritative. Against this law the antediluvians and the antelegalists sinned, and hence over them judgment reigned through sin unto death. Their sin was more against the nature than the person of God, but when the law entered, the controversy became personal, and sin put on its most fearful type of rebellion against God. It hurled its hostility against the righteous enactments of God. The law worked wrath and enhanced the guilt and doom of the transgressor. Even so in overcoming this abounding sin did grace abound. Christ was made

of a woman; made under the law that he might redeem them who were under the law. He took his position with the legally condemned Jews, that he might reach the extreme of human transgression. For this is grace prepared, and herein magnified, that it can reign through righteousness over such, to eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord. So that in this also the first Adam is a true figure of the second, and the reign of sin and the reign of grace are analogous. The law causes both to abound; by it both are magnified. Let me remark that this analogy shows the extent and limitation of the word "all" as used in verse 18. It is co-extensive with, and limited to, the two races to which it refers. The judgment came upon all the men of the first Adam's race, and the free gift upon the men of the second Adam's race unto justification of life. The carnal seed and the spiritual seed were alike, and shared with their respective organic heads. The analogy is perfect.

II. But now comes a difference, and one which the Apostle has marked with peculiar emphasis. See verse 15. "But not as the offence, so is the free gift." Also verse 16. "And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift," etc.

The structure of these passages seems to render them difficult of explication, but if I understand them, and I think I do, this is their meaning. In the case of the first Adam the organic transfer of guilt, and its representative imputation was purely legitimate and legal. All this is true of the second Adam,—the organic impartation and the representative imputation being equally legitimate and lawful. Yet in the latter the bestowment or establishment of the relation itself, and of its results, was all a matter of sovereign and gratuitous favor and grace. It was of grace to choose already under just and lawful condemnation. True, indeed, in thus extending and magnifying its reign it magnified the law,—it was through righteousness. But it was not the *reign* of law, but the reign of *grace*, free,

sovereign grace still. Well might the apostle say, "not as the offence, so is the free gift." The distinction is obvious.

There is also another difference equally strikingly indicated by the words "much more," in the 17th verse, which see. The argument is,—if by one man's sin, death reigned over *his* race; *i. e.*, if, as we have seen to be the case, those identified with Adam in his transgression died, *much more* shall those identified with the second Adam, or Christ (as we have seen), reign in life by one, Jesus Christ. To the organic and legal cause of the results in both cases, is added in the case of the second Adam the free grace of God. This latter relation brings with it the efficiency of an almighty head, and the grace and favor, free and sovereign, gushing from the heart of God and pledging almightiness for the accomplishment of its reign. How much more! The one has legitimacy and law to back it; the other also has legitimacy, organic legitimacy, and law to back it also, and far more, the pledged almightiness of God for the efficiency of its reign unto eternal life. How much more! Yes, he may say,—"much more shall they which have received the gift of righteousness and the abundance of grace reign in life by one, Jesus Christ." But let it be noticed that the excess, the superabundance so distinctly marked in the reign of grace, is not in the excess of numbers over whom it reigns, but of its efficiency to crown with everlasting life.

If this be the correct interpretation then the analogy between the first and second Adam is beautiful indeed, but the contrast is glorious.

LECTURE XXII.

ROM. VI. 1-2.

Prop.—Salvation by grace a law of holiness, and no license to sin.

So far from destroying the bulwarks of righteousness

and giving license to sin, the reverse is true. It both secures and enjoins righteousness. This is an old and vicious objection from the enemies of God. If grace is magnified by the abounding of sin, let us sin that grace may abound; the conception of this objection indicates entire ignorance of every motive of righteousness, supposing it to be in the selfish desire of security alone. And further, that if the people of God could be assured that God would surely save them, every motive to holiness is gone. Mischievous as this objection is, it is not to be avoided by the Arminian scheme of denying such efficiency of grace and still conditioning the salvation of believers to what they shall or shall not do. To this objection the Bible furnishes an effectual answer, and that, too, without invalidating the saving efficiency of grace.

I. Grace saves actually only as it saves from sin. Its first act in the saved is to break the reigning power of sin by turning the heart to God and to the hatred of sin "How shall we that are dead to sin, live any longer therein," being made free from sin, ye became the servants of God. The Arminian motive of fear may restrain the vile, but it is love, which grace plants in the heart, which begins the radical reform. Can that grace give license to sin whose especial work upon man is to subdue him to righteousness? But,—

II. Decretive and perfected salvation is but decretive and perfected righteousness. "Grace reigns *through righteousness* unto eternal life," Rom. v. 21. Notice both the might and the manner of the reign of grace—"it *reigns through righteousness*." How then shall its subject continue in sin? "Grace has chosen them that they should be holy." See Ephes. i. 4. Having begun the work of reform in the heart, grace will carry it on until the day of the Lord Jesus. See Phil. i. 6, and 1. Cor. i. 30. "Who of God is made unto us *sanctification* and r edemption. He is our surety that the work shall be accomplished." How then shall grace encourage sin when the eradication of sin is its especial work?

III. Grace is an argument *against* sin, because it presents motives to holiness of surpassing power.

1. Sin is incompatible with our relation to Christ. Christ died unto sin once, and by our baptism we were immersed into his death. We professed in that ordinance to have died with him to sin; by faith and with brokenness of heart we accepted his death as our substitute that we might be freed from the dreadful penalty of sin. Well, therefore, may the Apostle ask — "How shall we who are dead to sin live any longer therein?" The act of sin gives the lie to our experience, and to our testimony in the ordinance of baptism.

2. Again, in our baptism we vowed a new life of consecration to Christ, that as we had been in the likeness of his death we would be or should be in the likeness of his life from the dead. We there nailed the old, the carnal man, to the cross. We renounced the service of sin for the service of Christ. Knowing this (verse 6) that our old man was crucified with him that the body of sin might be destroyed in order that we should no longer be in bondage to sin, well may he add — "So also reckon yourselves to be dead indeed to sin, but alive to God through Jesus Christ." Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal bodies. "Sin shall not have dominion over you, for ye are not under law but under grace." There is an argumentative plea for holiness in the fact that we are under the reign of grace. What then! Shall we sin because we are not under law but under grace? God forbid. It is meet for the servants of sin to serve him. The service indicates to the servant his master. Having a new master, even Christ, a new service is demanded. To this new service their bodies, (once the instruments of sin unto death) should now be yielded the instruments of righteousnesss unto holiness and newness of life. For their freedom from the service of sin, and their consecration to the service of righteousness, the Apostle thanks God. See verses 19-23. This appropriate exhortation comes to Christians, putting them

upon their guard against the former prostitution of their bodies, through the shameful uncleanness and iniquity of sin, the fruit whereof was death. But now (verse 22) he hails them as freed from sin and as the servants of God, and as having their fruit unto holiness, and the end — everlasting life. For the *wages* of sin is death. But the gift — the gracious bestowment of God — is life eternal. The life he gives is the life of holiness, and it is eternal. Nothing can be more carnal and devilish than the thought of making grace, sovereign, efficient and free, promotive of an apology for sin.

LECTURE XXIII.

ROM. VII. 4.— *Believers Lawfully Married to Christ.*

Prop. I. Christians become dead to the law by the body of Christ.

1. Their legal state. By the law here I understand the Mosaic code (the ten commandments) with all the rituals that follow. To it they were bound both as regards the rule and condition of life. Obedience to it was life. Any infraction was condemnation and death. It, the law, was holy, just and good. It was ordained to life. In loyalty is the life of all the holy. See verses 10-12. The law was a good husband, but the sinner a traitorous wife. True, the law in itself is good and life-giving, but while we were under it, "the motions of sin which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death." The adulterous inclinations of the false wife chafed and raged to surpassing guilt under the just and life-preserving restraints of the law; and thereby incurring death at the hand of the law, or of the outraged husband. The goodness of the husband reveals and magnifies the guilt and treachery of the wife. Now while under those legal bonds the sinner could not be united to Christ. Before Christ could touch to save, those bonds must be dissolved by the death of the guilty party. The demands of the just

law were inexorable; with those demands the love of Christ would not trifle; yea he would honor them to the utmost.

2. Believers are dead to the law by the body of Christ, how? In the first place by the convincing power of the Holy Ghost. They are made to feel and confess the judgment of their doom, and to pass the sentence of death upon themselves,. See verses 9-11 Secondly; that sentence of death was accepted of Christ, as the sinner's substitute he endured it. He gathered up in himself the penalty due to the transgressor. The penalty inflicted on him was tantamount to that which is due to an apostate world. Let it be noticed that the death of Christ makes the punishment of the sinner no less just. But it makes it just that Christ should take the forfeited life of the transgressor into his own sovereign disposal. It is henceforth at his option, whether to let the sinner settle with the law himself, or through his settlement with the law take him under the reign of grace.

3. By faith in Christ that death becomes ours. When by faith we accept that freedom his death procures we are by death free from the law — our old husband. The moment that death is received by us in our substitute, we are no longer under the law.

4. Being thus free from the law, the law is dead to us, and no violence is done to its claims though we be married to another, which is Christ, who is raised from the dead. Though he take us to share with him his life and glory, he does no violence to the claims of justice; the law itself comes to the marriage of the parties and smiles upon the union. "Judgment and mercy kiss each other." "Henceforth," as the apostle says in another place, "Christ is the head of the church, as the husband is the head of the wife." All her rights are held in the rights of her husband — her head. And blessed be God there they are all secure.

LECTURE XXIV.

ROM. VII. 15.— *Warfare between Holiness and Sin in the Christian.*

The moral taint of sin in our apostate nature is an active virus, which though in harmony with the moral man, with the heart, with the "*ego*" of his nature, still breeds perpetual disturbance and utter unrest in the elements of Nature itself. Conscience and love in security are peculiar to moral existence but not to moral character. These elements in apostate nature may be made to slumber for a season by deception or by drugging with carnal pleasure, so that for a time their existence will hardly be realized; but they still exist, and will exist while being lasts. These peculiar elements of moral existence are disturbed by the invasion of sin, and just so far as these elements are undrugged they will cry out against the corrodings of guilt and the dangers of sin; but the heart ever triumphs in the entertainment of sin against their sinister remonstrance. But in this there is kept up a perpetual warfare. It is with reference to this inward conflict, this utter unrest from the assaults of sin upon the conscience and this love of safety which sin violates, that the prophet says — (Is. lvii. 20.) "The wicked are like the troubled sea when it cannot rest." Also (Is. xlviii. 22.) "There is no peace to the wicked, saith my God." By sin the sinner's peace is broken here forever, and will be eternally banished when deception and moral drugs are no more at his command. While sin is one of the warring powers in the elements of apostate nature, it is so also *in* the human and carnal nature, a warring element against grace in the renewed soul. Its aggressive, disturbing and warring power will not cease to be experienced by the Christan until its entire eradication from his nature — till the old man is dead. But between the inward conflict it produces in the breast of the sinner and the conflict it produces in the breast of the Christian there is a radi-

cal and marked difference. That difference and the peculiarities of the inward warfare in the saint demands our careful investigation.

The conflict in the breast of the child of God is between two *natures*, mysteriously blended in one existence, *viz*:—the spiritual and carnal. The spiritual nature with the law of God written in its restored moral elements and destined to the renovation and restoration of the whole man, and the animal or carnal nature yet to be recovered, but yet not recovered and still subject to the reigning power of sin. The conflict in the Christian is between sin in the carnal and grace in the spiritual nature. To all practical intents there are two "*egos*" in the Christian; there is "I," the God-loving and God-fearing spirit—the seed of Christ, and there is "I," the carnal man subject to the reign of sin. "I," the carnal man, is destined to be conquered and subdued by "I," the spiritual man, and until "I," the carnal man is utterly subdued by "I," the spiritual man, the conflict will last. "I," the spiritual man serves the law of Christ, while "I," the carnal man serves the law of sin. The blending of the spiritual and of the carnal natures in the existence is a mystery not to be solved by mortal apprehension, while the fact is obvious. Even so the process of grace in recovering these two blended natures is a mystery no less profound, but the Bible very clearly states the fact of the recovering work of grace, and the manner or the order of its recovering process. In the new birth the mind, the spirit is born again by the spirit of God. It is begotten of God and bears the image of God. It wears a moral newness, is indeed a *new* creature. The "*ego*," the "I," the new man serves the law of Christ, while the carnal nature (meaning all that makes up our *animal* nature) remains to be conquered and subdued. From the moment of this new life in the spirit begins the moral conflict within. The powers of this new "*ego*," this new man may be weak, infantile, at its new birth and slow in maturing its strength; falter it may,

aye, and fall it may in its terrible conflict, brought into captivity with sin it may be, but the life of God is in it, and the strength of God its never failing resource; and rise up it will, escape from its temporary bonds it will, and conquer at last it will. This distinction between our two natures, and these parties to the inward warfare of the saint are clearly recognized by the Apostle when he says:—(verse 14.) "But *I* am carnal sold under sin." This is the carnal "*ego*." Omitted here verse 15, and again (verse 18):—"For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing." And in verse 19—"For the good that I would, I do not; but the evil that I would not, that I do." And in verses 22 and 23—"For I delight in the law of God after the inward man; but I see another law *in my members*, warring against the law of my mind, etc." It is evident in all these passages the Apostle recognizes and refers to two "*egos*" in his own person. One of the "*egos*" is carnal, sold under sin—does evil, is destitute of every good thing, and subject to the law of sin, warring against the law of mind, and even taking the spirit captive to the law of sin, or ever striving to do so. But the other "*ego*"—the spiritual "*ego*"—disallows sin, hates sin, vindicates the law; if drawn into sin, it is not a volunteer, but a captive; it delights in the law of God and serves the law of God. And (verse 24) he deplores his affiliation with the carnal man, this "body of death," and cries out for deliverance. To sum up the truth concerning this inward warfare we may state

1. It is not as in the case of the impenitent sinner a conflict between the love of sin in the heart, and the apprehension of its fearful results and the lashings of a guilty conscience. But

2. It is a conflict between the reign of righteousness in the renewed spirit, and the reign of sin in our carnal natures.

3. The paradox—the Christian
Does not sin, and does sin,

Hates sin and yet sins,
Confesses sin and disavows sin,
Dead to sin and yet sins,

Cannot sin and yet, sinning, has an advocate with the Father. I repeat, this strange paradox is explained by the two natures blended in our being,—the two moral "*egos*,"—the renewed spirit, and the natural or carnal man or manhood which under the respective reigns of grace and sin war upon each other.

4. This conflict is obstinate and intense oftentimes, and when the combatants are left to themselves the spiritual "*ego*" might well cry out in view of the fierce and formidable powers of his adversary: "I shall one day fall by the hand of Saul," or might well apprehend that the chains of his captivity would be perpetual. The new man itself, enfeebled with sin, has its match and often its vindictive master in its carnal foe.

5. God has furnished the *ego* of the new man with a spiritual resource in Christ to hold in subjection, to mortify, yea, to crucify the old, the carnal man. It is both his privilege and his duty to do so. To this end the panoply of God, the breast-plate, the shield, and the sword, and hence the command of the Master to "watch, fight, and pray."

6. This conflict is the occupation of our pilgrimage. It is the prerogative of faith to fight manfully by the way and to achieve a glorious victory in its combat with the world, the flesh and the devil while here, but at the taking of the city the king will be present. Fight and wound, and crucify and keep under the old man we may, but the coming of the Master will lay the old man, the carnal man down in death. The final victory of faith will be won in the presence of the King, and the weapons of our warfare be laid down at his feet. The perfected will sing at home, where holiness reigns and sin can never come.

LECTURE XXVI.

ROM. VIII. 1-20.

Prop. The relation of the believer to Christ renders his justification complete and irrevocable, henceforth no condemnation can reach him. Let us notice in the first place the relation which faith establishes between the believer and Christ, and then some of the benefits which flow from that relation as noticed somewhat in detail by the Apostle in this most interesting and consoling chapter.

I. *The relation.* The believer is said to be in Christ Jesus; verse 1. "There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus." In our lecture upon the analogy between the two headships, the first and second Adam, it was seen that the believer is in Christ both as his organic and his covenant head. We repeat that idea. It is the province of faith to unite the believer with Christ as his organic or spiritual — vital Head, and also as his legal and representative Head. It is this relation with its fruits which is discussed by the Apostle in the previous chapters where he says, "there is now, *therefore*, no condemnation" etc. It is as much as if he had said — "therefore seeing it so; seeing that believers are a race, — a generation, each of which bears the moral image of his progenitor, — a race inheriting as the legal heirs the estate of their progenitor; aye, seeing that they are dead to the law by the body of Christ, and married to him who is alive from the dead, and that he is their marital head — seeing that believers sustain this relation to Christ, "there is now, therefore," he may well say, "no condemnation for them." There can be none; their justification is complete and is established that it cannot fail. But that we may more fully understand the relation which faith establishes between the believer and Christ, and its glorious results, let us follow the Apostle in his further detail of the benefits which the believer derives from it.

II. *The benefits.*—1. He is therefore freed from the law of sin. Henceforth while sin may be the accident—the vexation and the plague of his life, it can nevermore be the law of his life. See v. 2. "For the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death." The law of sin is the law of death—moral death; "men are dead in trespasses and sins;" the reign of sin in the heart of the sinner is the inexorable law of moral death. The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus quickens from that death—"you hath he quickened who were dead in trespasses and sins." Ephes. ii. 1. By the infusion of his own life into the sinner, once dead in sin, he frees him from the law of sin and death. Henceforth he lives with Christ who is his life; enfeebled the spirit may be by the long torpor of moral death; entangled and ensnared it may be by its mysterious union with its animal—its earthy appendage, the carnal man; captivated it may be by sin, but die it cannot—the life of Christ is in it—a volunteer it cannot be, its allegiance to sin is forever broken. The life of Christ, or in other words, the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, has forever freed him from sin as a law of life.

2 Christ fulfills the righteousness of the law in them, "for what the law could not do in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending His own Son in the *likeness* of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us." The law was weak through the flesh or the opposition of the carnal mind,—it could only condemn and not cure. Bound by the law of a carnal life, the soul could in no-wise free itself. God saw this, and in compassion sent his Son "in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin;" or as Matthew Henry has it, "a sacrifice for sin," and "so condemned (punished) sin in the flesh." It was thus he freed us from the condemning power of the law, that he might in the new-covenant of grace free us from the carnal law of sin, that we henceforth should not live after the flesh,

and also to subject us to the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus. We are become dead to the law by the body of Christ, and dead to sin by the life of Christ, into which life we are quickened by the Spirit, which Spirit henceforth becomes the law of our life, instead of the law of sin and death. The Spirit of life in Christ Jesus is the law of every Christian's life, and sin is not the law, but the exception.

As many as are *led* by the Spirit of God they are the Sons of God—"except the Spirit of Christ be in you, ye are none of his." "There is now, therefore, no condemnation to them—who *walk* not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." The Apostle labors to make this distinction apparent; "for they that are *after* the flesh, do mind the things of the flesh, but they that are after the Spirit, the things of the Spirit;" "for to be carnally minded (or ruled) is death, but to be Spiritually minded (ruled or led) is life and peace;" and he assigns the reason—"the carnal mind is enmity against God, is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be; so then they that are in the flesh cannot please God, but ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, *he is none of His.*" So that we have this truth, viz:—The spirit of the Believer is freed from the carnal and subjected to the Spirit's law.

1. The righteousness of the law is fulfilled in the Christian; in the motions of the new life within him. The perfect law is written on his heart; or in his spiritual nature. Love is the fulfilling of the law; the renewed spirit is "created in *righteousness and true holiness.*" The renewed spirit accepts the perfect law; it will be satisfied with nothing but the perfect law; the law speaks its own perfect language in the spirit's love to God—love to holiness, and in its hatred to sin; in all these respects the righteousness of the law is fulfilled in them. Defective the spirit may be, nay, is, in quality, its struggles against the carnal nature and its law; and in this very struggle, it is the righteousness of the law that struggles in them.

2. The righteousness of the law is fulfilled not only *in* but *by* us. Hence believers "*walk* not after the flesh, but after the Spirit;" they "*walk*." The habitual rule of their life is the law of holiness, justice, and truth. The condemnation of sin in the body of Christ has freed them from the law as a covenant of life that they might embrace the law as a law of life; they are freed from the curse of the law that they may be restored to their allegiance to the law; they are not under law but under grace, that with the Author of grace they may fulfil the law, and honor all its claims. "Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid; yea, *we* establish the law." Chap. iii. 31. The renewed spirit is, if I may so speak, the law-written spirit; weak it is, and as yet permeated with sin through its mysterious and painful connection with carnal nature, but it is on the side of God, and his law. In harmony with this is the testimony of 1 John iii. 1–10. Upon this he insists with emphasis as a cardinal principle; about this he would not have them deceived. With what earnestness he says (v. 7.)—"Little children, let no man deceive you; he that doeth righteousness is righteous even as he is righteous." The law of God is fulfilled *in* and *by* the renewed spirit—by all that are born of God. Observe, he still further insists (verse 10–17)—that the spirit is made right, and on this fact he suspends all our hopes of eternal life—he labors with solemn energy to make deception on this point impossible; deception here is fatal to the soul's eternal interests.

The struggle is between the renewed and sanctified spirit and the carnal mind. Nothing can be more pointed than his plain and earnest declarations upon this point. Verse 10. "And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin;" it is doomed in the law of its uncured enmity, "but the spirit is life because of righteousness." Verse 11. "But if the spirit of him that raised Jesus up from the dead *dwell* in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken

your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you." Verses 12, 13. "Therefore, brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh to live after the flesh, for if ye live after the flesh ye shall die, but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the flesh ye shall live." Now this solemn warning, this fearful assurance is predicated upon a recognized fact, viz: that none are the children of God but such as are led by the Spirit of God, for they are the sons of God. Verse 14: "For ye have not received the Spirit of bondage again to fear, but the Spirit of adoption whereby we cry — Abba, Father." Verse 16: "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God," *i. e.*, all the children are led by the Spirit of God, and the Spirit *in* them and *by* them owns the relation. It cries Abba, Father. "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are born of God," *i. e.*, born of the Spirit of God; we turn back to God crying Abba, Father. It is thus the Spirit testifies in the God-ward bent of our own spirit, that we are born of God. And (verse 17) it is in this renewed nature, this renewed spirit, made subject to and controlled by the Spirit in its filial yearnings that God has written our heirship, our title to be glorified with Christ. "And if *children*, then *heirs*, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ, if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be glorified together."

We cannot mistake the Apostle — the spirits of all the children of God are holy now; are righteous now; the law is fulfilled in their spirit now; and henceforth the conflict is between the spirit and the flesh, or the carnal mind. The war is indeed in the spirit only as the carnal mind invades, vexes and strives with it.

LECTURE XXVII.

ROM. VIII. 18–27.

Prop. — Perfection looked for only in the redemption of the body.

The substance of what I wished to say in this

Lecture is stated in the 24th and 25th verses: "For we are saved by hope, but hope that is seen is not hope, for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it."

The salvation of the believer is not perfected in this life; the decisions of grace concerning him are perfect, though not yet completed; the renewed spirit is perfect in character; but while all this is true, the man himself is not perfect. Three things will be noticed: (1) what is wanting; (2) how completed; (3) when finished.

I. *What is wanting.* Man is a complex being; he is a spirit clothed with a carnal nature. The spirit may exist with or without its adjuncti—ts clothing. Such indeed will be the state of its being from death to the resurrection; the two natures form when united one being; in this unit or being these parts act upon and modify each other. For the whole man the spirit is responsible. In the apostacy, the man was a unit; —in his responsibility he is perpetually a unit, and when the work of his recovery is completed he will be a unit in perfection. But we have already noticed his duality in the recovering process—two *egos* in the convalescent sinner, or in the Christian in his inward conflict with sin. Now what is wanting or lacking in the perfection of the Christian is the sanctification of his carnal nature—its complete renovation and restoration to holiness. The spirit, as we have seen, is renewed in the image of its progenitor; but then commences the conflict, a conflict which can only end with the subjection of one of the parties. The spirit's victory is certain, but not yet attained; until that victory is attained the man himself is imperfect; over that imperfection he sighs and groans, and with it he struggles and cries for deliverance. Sin has filled creation with groanings; —both the curse of sin and the contaminations of sin. The earth was cursed for man's sake; for the sake of earth or earthly good man turned away from his God;

and earth and all that is earthy is doomed to be a curse to man while here. For him there is no release from his earthly nature; its carnal enmity against God is not cured in this life; it is not subject to the law of God neither indeed can be. Kept under it may be. Paul kept his body under; his body was his tabernacle in which he "groaned being burdened."

II. How and when is this work to be completed? I answer by a process adapted to the work to be performed. The spirit of man is reached and modified by moral appeal or spiritual influence. But the carnal, physical nature is reached by physical power; if changed, it will not be by moral suasion or spiritual influence, but by power absolute. Our animal nature therefore must be reached by a process sufficient, adequate to cure our physical or carnal nature in general. From the 19th–23rd verse inclusive there are difficulties in their explication, but there are several things in their relation to the physical and animal world quite obvious and of great importance in relation to our own physical and animal nature.

1. The whole physical and animal world has felt the shock of sin, and has been subjected thereby to vanity — to the preludes and to death itself, in which it groans and travails in pain.

2. That it, with the carnal nature of even the children of God, will be relieved together; that creation itself shall be delivered into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

3. That saints will attain *their* perfection, *their* emancipation in the resurrection or in the redemption of their bodies; then and then only will the saints be completed when clothed upon with their house which is from heaven,—when they receive their bodies and are made like unto Christ's glorious body, in which bodies the carnal shall give place to the spiritual, v. 23; "and not only they, but ourselves also which have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to-wit: the redemp-

tion of the body;" v. 29. "For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son that he might be the first born among many brethren." *Then* will the process of adoption be completed—"the adoption, to-wit: the redemption of our body." We have the spirit of adoption now, but it is not completed until we are dressed for heaven—"Beloved" says John, "now are we the sons of God, but it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but this we know, that when we see him we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is;" Among the Jews a child's adoption was complete, when his old garments gave place to new, and he was dressed from the wardrobe of the adopted father, and after the fashion of his household. Such a completion of the saint is pledged in v. 11—"But if the Spirit of Him who raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you." The carnal world both in man, and out of man, is inimical to grace,—it is to be perpetually warred against by the renewed spirit until it drops it into the alembic of the grave, thence to come forth renewed like unto Christ's glorious body, and in harmony with the renewed spirit, and purified from every taint of sin. The very elements around us will be dissolved by fire, and a new world will be reconstructed from its elements;—"wherein dwelleth righteousness." Even so shall these vile bodies be dissolved in death to be reconstructed at the resurrection of the just. See 1. Cor. xv. 42-44. So also is the resurrection of the dead,—"it is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." There is a natural and there is a spiritual body—"flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God,"—the carnal must be put off, and the image of the heavenly put on before the children of God can enter heaven. Either by the alembic of death,

or by the mysterious change which awaits the living at the coming of Christ, our carnal nature must be made spiritual, that in all points it may wear the image of the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, before the children of God are perfect. Then shall be brought to pass the saying, "Death is swallowed up in victory;" and then, too, the triumphant song. But till then it is ours to hope, and with patience to wait,—till then, it is ours to watch, and pray, and fight.

> "'Tis vain to boast perfection here,
> Or till old nature dies.
> Happy is he who finds it where
> Creation shall our Freedom share
> In the new paradise."

The results to which the 7th and 8th of Romans have conducted us are:

1. In regeneration the spirit is renewed into the image of God in righteousness and true holiness. It is made *perfect* in character.

2. That the carnal nature is still in enmity against God, and will continue so until conquered and put off in death.

3. That from the moment of regeneration till separation in death there is a perpetual conflict between the renewed spirit and the unrenewed, carnal nature.

4. That the new born spirit, though a child, is a perfect child, and through and by means of all its internal and external conflicts with sin, it is destined to come in the unity of the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man, "unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

5. That the spirit is released from sin at death, and takes its place among the spirits of just men made perfect. But that the *man* in the completeness of his complex being is not perfected till the redemption and spiritualization of his body at the resurrection of the just.

6. That we are saved by hope, *i. e.*, in the hope of

the completion of the work of grace, the beginning and process of which works we have and do experience here. Perfection is desired and expected, and so hoped for and pressed after, but attained only at the resurrection, and in the redemption of the body.

LECTURE XXVIII.

ROM. VIII. 26–28.—*The Guardianship of the Spirit.*

In the fearful conflict between the renewed spirit and carnal nature in the Christian the conquest of the spirit is secured by the efficient aid of the Spirit of God.

I. The Spirit of God becomes an indweller in the saints; not a *transient* visitor, but an indweller. "Except the Spirit of Christ be in you, ye are none of his." "By his Spirit that *dwelleth* in you." 2 Cor. vi. 16. "I will dwell in them and walk in them." Acts ii. 4. "And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." Now it is obvious from these and multitudes of kindred passages, that the Spirit of God habitually dwells in the children of God.

1. To help their infirmities, *i. e.*, to help us against our infirmities. The renewed spirit as we have seen is weak and infirm; it is the province of the Spirit to give it strength; to work with it, and so to "witness with it that we are born of God." Ephes. iii. 16. "That he would grant you according to the riches of his glory to be strengthened with might by His Spirit in the inward man." It both strengthens the spirit of the man, and is strength for the spirit of man. Ephes. ii. 22. "Habitation of God through the Spirit."

2. It shows them the things of Christ. By its suggestions in holy men of old the Bible was made. 1 Peter i. 2. "Searching what, or what manner of time the spirit of Christ that was in them did signify, when

it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow." It guided holy men of old to write as they were inspired. To its inward promptings are we indebted for the entire revelation of God, but keep in mind that while the same Spirit is the indwelling monitor of the saints, its work is restricted to their present necessity. It is not its prerogative now to reveal any new truth, else would our Bible be enlarged, and new scriptures would multiply upon our hands, but said Jesus: "He shall take of the things of mine, and shew them unto you; he shall bring all things to your *remembrance*, whatsoever I have said unto you.' The Bible is the Spirit's text-book in the hearts of believers. The Spirit magnifies the *word.* Let it be known that any spirit that sets up on its own account, or claims to make new revelations, is a false spirit. But he that gave the word enlarges the heart and quickens the mind to understand the word he gave. It is the Spirit's prerogative to stir the emotions of our spirits into harmony with the word. It is his to move the purposings of our spirits in harmony with his word, and to give strength and courage to fulfil his word. It is thus God "works in us both to will and to do according to his good pleasure." So says Paul: "His Spirit wrought in me mightily."

3. It is the Spirit's prerogative to comfort the people of God. He is the great Comforter sent of Christ to take His place as their conductor and comforter. He says: "If ye love me, ye would rejoice because I said, I go away, for if I go not away the Comforter will not come." Christ having given the suggestions of his words, they would now more need the inward suggestions of the Spirit to bring his counsels, his promises and assurances to mind, and to move by his own influence upon our spirit to take hold of those promises, and to take hold of the living Christ as his word presents him, and so to impart its own joy to the soul.

4. It is the prerogative of the Spirit to inspire and

direct prayer. See verse 26. "For we know not what to pray for as we ought, but the Spirit maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered." It begets desires in us unutterable by us, and presents those unuttered desires for us at the Mercy Seat. He, knowing the mind of God, conforms those desires within us, and the utterance of those desires to the will of God; and that is not all, he clothes those desires and utterances at the Mercy Seat with his own sanction, and thus renders their prevalence certain. Notice in the 28th verse the extent of this superintending care over this matter of effectual petition. It covers all the interests of all the elect of God; and we know that "all things work together for good to them that love God;" *i. e.*, the superintending care of the Spirit is confirmed by the fact that all things work together for that end — the good of the saint. His intercessions include not only the things that please now, but even those things that grieve now, but work their good in the end. As the loving mother asks medicine of her physician which will give pain to her child now, but health in the end, even so he asks for the cup his children *need* to drink, and also for the result of that cup that it may work for their good. O how sweet the reflection that Christ not only reigns for his people and over his people, but that he reigns in his people. It is thus he permits his people to share with him the conflict; and it is thus he prepares them to share with him the glory of the victory.

But it is not enough that we have thus traced with the Apostle the work of redeeming grace with its infinite expenditures in the death and sufferings of Christ; with the exertion of omnipotent power in recovering lost souls from death to life and from condemnation to justification, by their mysterious relations to Christ by faith as their new and vital organic Head — their covenant Head and their marital Head, and to the Spirit's inward energy and guardianship. Before we can write with the Apostle in his triumphant chal-

lenge before the universe—before both worlds—we have another and profound and mighty matter to consider, viz: the *cause* of all this—the great cause from which all this proceeding springs. Results so infinitely glorious must have an adequate cause; and that cause is traced by the Apostle to the eternal purpose of God—to that great fountain of life let us follow him, that with him we may drink of his inspiration, and with him put the crown where it belongs, and where all the holy hail, and worship it on the head of the God-Christ.

LECTURE XXIX.

ROM. VIII. 28–30.

Were we destined to pass through some vast, trackless wilderness; some wilderness of mountain and valley, of broken rocks and desert waste; some land of protracted storm and cloud with nothing to guide us but a chart and compass, with what abandonment of imagination and of the suggestions of instinct would wisdom dictate that we should cleave to our chart and our compass; Upon them prudence would dictate that our trust should be absolute, and our attention severe. Even so when we attempt to explore the ways of God with men, the Bible is and must be our chart, and sound logic as our compass. We are tempted by the imposing difficulties of the way to ignore the field of investigation as too severe and hazardous for our undertaking. Thousands do so, substituting for teachable research reckless presumption, and affected wisdom in choice of ignorance, neither of which can we afford. We need to know God that we may adore and love him for what he is. And we need to apprehend and to understand his ways that we may know him. To know God is eternal life, and savingly to know God is to discern and grasp with our affections his perfections as they are.

His ways understood set God before us, and that too in exact proportion to our understanding of his ways. We need to know the ways of God that we may know our own ways. None can indeed correctly understand the operations of saving grace as it encounters the various phases of human nature, nor the relation of those operations to man's responsibility, or their relations to the safety and comfort of the redeemed, nor their relation to our agency or working together with him, without a competent understanding of the ways of God with man. As we shall decide whether God in his works of grace is contingent upon forces exterior to himself or upon his own changeless purpose, so we shall shape our whole system of Theoretic Religion, and conform our ideas to one or the other of these views of the ways of God with man. It is therefore with modest trembling, but with confidence emboldened by the proffered aid of the Spirit, and under the pressure of our relative necessity, and of the pressure of the command of the Master to dig for the truth as for hid treasure, we enter on the examination of this great matter—this crowning statement of the Apostle:—"The called according to his purpose."

Limiting somewhat the range of our inquiries to the purpose of God concerning the redemption of his people, we proceed to discuss the following consecutive propositions:—

I. God's purpose concerning the salvation of his people is antecedent to the creation of the world—is indeed eternal.

II. God's purpose was in himself; *i. e.*, it was induced by no motive exterior to himself.

III. It was definite and personal.

IV. It was comprehensive and ample, covering all his saving work.

V. It was efficient and certain,—it can never fail.

VI. It was beneficent and just.

PROPOSITION I.

First, then, let us notice the antecedent and eternal character of God's purpose to save. In verse 28 the Apostle not only ante-dates the purpose, but makes it the foundation of all the work of grace—"the called according to his purpose." So also in Ephes. iii. 11, he speaks of it as the *eternal* purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus. "According to the *eternal* purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." So also Ephes. i. 4; "According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world." In these passages it is clearly and implicitly stated that this saving purpose was eternal and anterior to creation; yea, that before creation he himself acted upon that purpose in the choice of the objects of the purpose. Of the anterior and eternal character of God's purpose concerning the salvation of his people it would seem difficult for any one to doubt who receive, these scriptures as the testimony of God. But this character of the Divine purpose is confirmed by the nature of God himself. Eternity is present with God,—every moment. The purpose then of every moment is the purpose of eternity, and is an eternal purpose. All the purposes of God are eternal, both in their cause, and in their changeless force; hence, his purpose concerning the salvation of his people is eternal in both these respects. To regard it otherwise is to disregard the changeless laws of the Divine Nature.

PROPOSITION II.

The purpose of God was in himself and superinduced by nothing exterior to himself.

If his purpose is eternal it must be in himself. Eternity ante-dates universal creation, and of course eternal purpose ante-dates all things which must have proceeded from purpose. If then the cause of all things exterior to God is in the purpose of God, the purpose of God must be in God alone. It cannot be

contingent on that which is not. God's purpose is in himself as to its motive; and also in himself in the surety of its execution. From nothing it can borrow nothing. That which is developed in the fulness of time, results from purposes eternal. Ephes. i. 9. "Having made known to us the mystery of his will according to his good pleasure, which he hath purposed in himself." Two things are obvious in this passage: 1st, This will was after his own good pleasure, and modified by nothing exterior to himself; and 2nd, purposed in himself alone, as says Isa. xli. 14. "With whom took he counsel, and who instructed him, and taught him in the path of judgment, and taught him knowledge, and showed him the way of understanding?"

The question whether the purpose of God covers the action of the wicked seems to demand our notice in connection with the subject now under consideration. But as this subject will come up for consideration further on in the Epistle, we pass it here, and confine our attention to his purpose concerning his own work in the salvation of his people, and things immediately concerned with his work, and also concerning his own elect. The work of redemption is God's great work; creation cost him but the word of his power; redemption, incarnation and death,—the equipage and marshalling of his created host. The undertaking of such a work with no definite purpose of what himself would do, or of what should be the results of what he did; I say, to undertake such a work, in either, undefined in his purpose, is an absurdity too great to be indulged for a moment. Such a course in a man would destroy all confidence in his wisdom. Christ was a Lamb slain from the foundation of the world; *i. e.*, in the purpose of God. When the time for the fulfilment of that purpose came, he was delivered according to the *determinate* counsel and foreknowledge of God. Neither the Father nor the Son was taken by surprise. O what a beautiful testi-

mony is that from the lips of the Son of God himself as the august scene of his sufferings drew near—"Father, save me from this hour." "But for this cause came I unto this hour." "Father, glorify thy name." And again: "Father, the hour is come, glorify thy Son, that thy Son may glorify thee." The hour fixed in the counsel of the Father and the Son—the ante-mundane purpose was about to be fulfilled; not only the behest of the eternal Spirit, but the eternal behest of the eternal Spirit was obeyed in his death. See Heb. ix. "Who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God." Not a pain, not an insult did he endure but what the hand of God and the counsel of God determined before to be done, nor were the results left uncertain; he claims a specific reward at the hand of the Father. As in the 17th of John, he hails the approaching hour, he adds: "As thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to *as many as thou hast given him.* I have glorified thee on the earth; I have finished the *work which thou gavest me to do*, and now, O Father, glorify me with the glory which I had with thee before the world was." Aye, before the world was, the whole thing was planned, purposed, and covenant promises, definite and sure, predicated upon it. The reward was as much decreed as the sacrifice; it was not left contingent upon the hopeful curability, but pledged upon the veracity of God, that he should see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied. The motive, the reward, and the result are according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will.

PROP. III.—*It was Definite and Personal.*

1. He foreknew them. He could only foreknow them, if his purpose was personal and definite. The foreknowledge of them, upon which was predicated predestination, to be conformed to the image of his

Son, and calling, etc., was not the foreknowledge of anything in them inhering, which distinguished them from the rest of mankind, but as the purposed object of that gracious, undeserved, unmerited and unsought favor. In such definitely purposed election alone could he know them. This foreknowledge of them could have no other basis than his own definite purpose to save.

2. The motive — reward — was set before Christ in the covenant of Redemption. See Heb. 12. 2. "Who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, etc." Now in order to set that joy before him, the purpose to save must be personal and definite. Ephes. 1. 17. "The eyes of your understanding being enlightened, that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints." Paul in this passage would have them apprehend two things; the one is the hope belonging to them from his calling them to be saints, and the other is — the riches of the glory of Christ's inheritance in the saints. The glory of that inheritance he was willing, nay, to use his own language, he sought to tread the path of his sufferings to attain. The sum of his redemption glory will be the retinue of his saints. Would the number of that retinue be left to any contingency short of the changeless purpose of God? In the mutual inauguration of that work can it be conceived that neither the Father nor the Son should have any definite purpose concerning that number? Did they forget it? Could it be a matter of indifference to either of them? Was there any other party to be consulted whose rights might be endangered by a definite stipulation? Were the merits of Christ's death yet unmeasured or doubtful? If in justice the whole race were doomed, and if the atoning merits of Christ's death were infinite, might not God extend the power of recovering grace as far as he pleased, and limit the recovering power of his Spirit when he pleased without infringing the rights of any? I repeat the inquiry —

in an undertaking of such infinite outlay — such unparalleled expenditure why should not the stipulated reward be definite, and why should not the purpose of Him "who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will," fix that reward? Why should that reward be left to uncertainties? O! could the Father fail of purposing a definite reward to his Son?

3. In the bestowment of the boon of eternal life the Son of God acts upon his definitely chartered rights. I cannot state the argument better than in his own words. In his valedictory prayer — John xvii — he said to his Father in the presence of his disciples that they might know and understand the mutual harmony between him and his Father in the great work of Redemption — "Father, the hour is come, glorify thy Son, that thy Son may glorify thee, as thou hast given him power over all flesh that he should give eternal life to (whom?) *as many as* thou hast given him. And this is life eternal that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent. I have glorified thee upon the earth; I have finished the work which *thou gavest me to do*, and now, O Father, glorify thou me with the glory which I had with thee before the world was. I have manifested thy name unto the men which *thou gavest me out of the world.* Thine they were, and thou gavest them me, and they have kept thy word. I pray for them; I pray not for the world, but for *them* which thou hast given me, for they are thine, and all mine are thine, and I am glorified in them." What can be clearer than this? God's elect ones are given to him, and are his elect ones. God's elect ones are his saved ones. In them he is glorified. They are given to him in the mass of the world's quarry; by him they are quarried out, chiseled, squared and beautified for a place in the great temple above, each stone of which has a place in that temple, and shall fill that place, and each stone of which from the foundation to the cap-stone shall be brought forth with shouting — "crying Grace, Grace unto it."

PROPOSITION IV.

The logical order of the work of redemption from sin to holiness, and from death to life as wrought of God in the salvation of his people is built upon the personal and definite purpose of God covering with minute provision the whole work. Let us notice this wonderful progression of this saving work as here set forth in this logical chain of Divine operation.

1. God foreknew them according to his purpose. This distinction of foreknowledge based upon purpose, and not purpose upon foreknowledge, has been already noticed, but will appear still clearer when we notice, secondly:

2. "Moreover, whom he did foreknow, them he did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son." He knew them as his elect, or in his purpose to save, but knew them as being the image of the earthy—of the apostacy, and he predestinated them to the changing process of his grace into the image of his Son that he might be the first-born among many brethren. If they were to be of his family it was meet that they should be made like his family, and to that fitness God predestinated his chosen—his known—his purposed ones.

3. "Moreover, whom he did predestinate *them* he also called;" but see, the basis still is purpose, (verse 28,) "to them who are the called *according to his purpose.*" Having predestinated the definite work of the Spirit, and the persons to be wrought upon, the Spirit goes about his work, subdues them to his reign, calls them into the kingdom with a calling denominated—the *high calling* of God. This is what Bunyan denominates the *special* call. It is indeed the effectual calling of the Spirit. You will notice this word *called*, in Rom. i. 1, covers the entire process of taking Paul from his former state and occupation, and putting him into the state and occupation of an Apostle. This change of position and calling he ever ascribes to the will of

God,—see his address in all the epistles to the churches. He was a *chosen* vessel, personally qualified in his conversion, and put into his work and commission by the grace of God; and all this according to the will or antecedent purpose of God. Mark the word—"predestinate"; it was to be conformed to the image of his Son—*i. e.*, to be converted, to be changed, to be personally qualified to follow Christ, and it was in pursuance of this "predestination" that they were thus called. They were changed, adapted to his service, and put into his service as they were predestinated to be changed, adapted and put into their heavenly calling. The purpose of God is the basis of his own action in the predestination and its accomplishment, in the transformation of the character into the image of his Son, a transformation which covers the beginning of the work in their regeneration, and its completion in their sanctification.

4. "And whom he called them he also justified." The state into which they are called, the relation to Christ as their organic and covenant Head in their new calling, and to Christ as their vital Head, into which regeneration has embodied them, gives them a present justification. The justification of the people of God is spoken of in the Scriptures as a matter already accomplished, so also is the sanctification. See 1 Cor. vi. 11. "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of our Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." In the Headship rights of Christ, and the pledged efficiency of the Spirit, in the completion of the work which he has begun their final justification is anticipated. Their justification in Christ is secured and their final and personal justification at the day of judgment made certain. They are by their standing in Christ forever relieved from the condemning power of the law, and its approval secured by the imputation and impartation of the righteousness of Christ as their organic Head, and their destined absorption in his righteousness. And all this as the

legitimate result of their calling. So then, if they were the called according to the purpose of God, they were justified according to his purpose, and both their calling and their justification are to be ascribed to that gracious and eternal purpose of God.

PROPOSITION V.

"And whom he justified them he also glorified. The God of our Fathers hath *glorified* his Son Jesus." Acts iii. The prayer of Christ (John xvii) was "Glorify thy Son that thy Son may glorify thee." And again: "Ought not Christ to suffer these things and to enter into *his glory*." See Luke xxiv. 23. Again, John xvii: "Father, I will that they, whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold *the glory* that I had with thee before the world was." Christ has and has already attained a mediatorial glory. He inherits and has attained that glory as the head of his spiritual race. He descended to and united himself with them in their fallen condition that he might return with them to that primeval state of glory to which man was destined at his creation; "for it became him, for whom are all things and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons to glory to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through suffering. For both he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all one, for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren." Heb. ii. 10, 11. The identity of the people of God with Christ is vital and perpetual, as specified in his covenant rights, *they* are his joint heirs to the heavenly or restored state, and as the organic and vitalized members of his body they are inseparable from the glorious state of the Head. The identity of God's people with Christ is for the conflicts of time and for the glories of eternity. This is beautifully set forth in the 16th, 17th and 18th verses of this chapter. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God.

And if children then heirs, heirs of God, and *joint heirs* with Christ. If so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also *glorified* together. For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the *glory* that shall be revealed *in us*" Again, 2 Tim. ii. 9: "For if we *suffer* with him, we shall also *reign* with him." This also is spoken of as a thing of the past: "Them he also *glorified*." God also treats them now as the heirs of that glory, but has also now given them in Christ their Head, their federal and personal title to that glory. They are indeed now the possessors of that glorious state and condition, to which they are destined in their exalted and inheriting Head. They possess it *now* in their inheriting Head, and in the hand of their Forerunner, who has already attained in their behalf. The same eternal purpose that put Christ in his glorious and exalted position pledges the eternal God to put his spiritual generation there with him. The same purpose that puts him as head over all things to his church into that glorious state, put also the church, which is his body, into that glory with him. "*Them* he *also* glorified." This is beautifully set forth in Ephes. i. 4–10. "According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we *should be holy* and without blame before him in love; having predestinated us unto the *adoption of children* by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made as accepted in the beloved; in whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace, wherein he hath abounded toward us in all wisdom and prudence, having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his pleasure, which he purposed in himself that in the dispensation of the fullness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and are in earth, even in him; in whom also we have

obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will," etc. Nor can I forbear quoting the conclusion of the glorification of the church with Christ their Head. Verse 18: "The eyes of your understanding being enlightened, that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the workings of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead and set him at his own right hand in heavenly places, far above all principality and power and might and dominion and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come, and hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the church which is his body, the *fullness* of him, that filleth all in all."

From the purpose of God through every stage of operation to their glorification in heaven, there is no break or possibility of failure. From the beginning to the end it is God's work, God's predetermined work, God's covenant work, secured in its accomplishment by the pledged energies of the eternal God-head.

PROP. VI.—*It was Beneficent and Just.*

From the 31st verse to the close of the chapter the Apostle shows that this salvation which he has so largely discussed is benignant and worthy of all trust and praise, because it is so richly and so effectually provided for in the efficient and eternal love of God. His argument is:

1. God is for us—the subjects of his grace, his elect. Hence his challenge, "who then can be against us?" *i. e.*, to our injury or defeat. If our glorification be prevented, God must be overmatched. If God triumphs, their triumph is sure.

2. The love of God in its vast expenditures insures the completion of the work. His love induced him to give his only begotten Son to die for us. Having made that infinite sacrifice, will He suffer the work to fail, when its completion will cost but the word of his power? The past expenditures of his love are a guarantee of its continued and future efficiency, and of the perfection of his work in the salvation of all his people. (verse 32). "He that spared not his own Son, but freely gave him up for us, how shall he not with him freely give us all things?"

3. Their justification is from the arbiter of the Universe. The source of all law; the conservator of all interests; and the arbiter of all fates has decided their case: to whom shall an appeal be taken against this decision? By whom shall his judgment be stayed? Or, by whom shall his hand be arrested in its execution? "Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth?

4. The loving and persevering interest of the dying, rising, and interceding Christ, insures our trust, and demands our praise. "It is Christ that died, nay, rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who maketh intercession for us." He died for us—the elect. He arose for them. He is even at God's right hand for them. He maketh intercessions for them. They are his joy—the motive set before him for which he died. They are the riches of his inheritance,—his jewels. They are his purchased bride. They are the members of his body, and the fullness of his glory. The ground of his pleading is valid. On his part, all the conditions have been fulfilled. His pleadings are endorsed by the justice of the Throne. Surely their interests are safe in his hands, and victory is secure.

5. His sublime grasp of the palm of victory is in view of the sustaining presence and the omnipotent energy of God's love in Christ Jesus. (See v. 35-39)

Who shall *separate* us from the love of Christ?" It embraces us; it holds us in its present grasp; the loving chords of the Saviour's heart are about us; who shall unclasp or sunder them? That they are about us, the infinite sacrifice, and the decretive workings of his Spirit and grace in the systematic plan from the Divine purpose to their glorification, abundantly attests. Well may we enquire — who shall unclasp those everlasting arms that are about us? or, what shall cause us to despond or faint? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As is written — "For thy sake we are killed all the day long We are counted as sheep for the slaughter; nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us." In this is his final and triumphant challenge,— his conviction of triumph, viz :— that the bond of love that holds us, has its strength, its energy of grasp, not in the inherent strength of our love to God, but in the inhering energy and strength of God's love to us. He — the Apostle — sees in it an energy omnipotent and resistless — a strength that nothing in time or eternity can sever. I close this argument in his own inimitably beautiful and sublime words —"For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus, our Lord."

LECTURE XXX.

ROM. IX. 14, 15.

"What shall we say then, is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid, for he saith to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion." Verse 18. "Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth."

Prop.— Salvation is a sovereign gratuity. The counsels of his own will are strictly accomplished in God's entire work of redemption.

I. God's sovereignty grasps, controls and wields universal being and matter. As creator, he is the rightful proprietor of all. "The maker is the owner" is a moral fact of universal recognition. The title to all is in God—a title there is none to dispute. This is the doctrine vindicated by Christ, when he said, "Have I not a right to do what I will with mine own?" God's proprietorship is absolute. "Hath no tthe potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel to honor and another to dishonor?"

II. The rights of all moral intelligences are derived, ever subject to and limited by the rights of God. The moment that man or angel attempt to carry them against his rights, or counter to his will, they cease. It is not possible in the nature of things for God himself to originate a right, to contravene his own will. Such an attempt on the part of God would be God *versus* God, and his will at war with himself. Therefore as the rights of God so the will of God holds at its sovereign disposal all creatures and all things. That which is derived can never rise above its source. The will of God can extend no right to counteract itself. Hence, too, his sovereign rights are absolute and universal.

III. Derived rights pertaining to all intelligent beings and unforfeited by transgression are sacred. Of them God is the legitimate and sole guardian. To put the keeping of their rights into the hands of their possessors would betray the weak and endanger the peace of all. God both asserts the passivity of their possessors and his own sole prerogative of protecting the rights of all. He himself is the conservator of the rights and the peace of the universe.

IV. It follows if God is responsible to all for the preservation of their rights, then he is responsible for all to all. If an atom or an angel is let loose from

the rights of his control, then the rights of all are thereby put in jeopardy. If God be responsible for all, then all must be subject to his control, to the decisions of his will. Just law is itself incompetent security; governmental integrity in the punishment of the transgressor fails to indemnify the holy. The punishment of the murderer does not restore life. The moral government of God is inefficient to universal protection. Against that angels and men have revolted. By it they are not restrained from mischief. If there be nothing but law to restrain them, neither men nor angels retaining their allegiance have any security against their depredations. If God be responsible to the righteous for them—the wicked—he must hold them as he does the stars in the grasp of his power. To the control of his power, both *things* and sentient beings are simply objective. Under it their subjective functions are not in requisition. He neither asks their consent nor holds them under moral responsibility to obey. Omnipotence makes obedience certain. Under this forced government reliance is not had upon moral motive; neither does it interfere with moral responsibility. The application of this government to morally responsible agents may be difficult to apprehend, nor do I stop now to discuss. I but assert and prove the fact. Only let it be remembered, if it be a fact, God can see a harmony with his moral government, and its responsibilities, whether we see it or not. But it is self-evident if God be responsible to all for all, such a grasp, such a control, yea, such a government is indispensable. The atom and the angel are alike objective to his care, his purpose and his power. To neither can he be indifferent. The activities of his purpose, and his power encircle them with a design to an end.

V. God's purpose to save had its origin in his own sovereign counsel. He said to Moses, "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy." The "I will" is the starting point. Notice:

1. The derived rights of man are forfeited. The claims of all were alike forfeited. The voice of justice alike demanded the condemnation of all. God's just and holy law condemned all, and called for the execution of its penalty upon all. Sovereignty has the field. As the word of his power could destroy this world, and that in justice, and with universal approbation, so the same word of his power could make and people a new world of holy subjects of his throne. No sinister necessity moved him. Neither was it the result of foreign counsel. "Who hath been his counsellor, and who instructed him and taught him in knowledge?" Isa. xl. 14. The purpose of redemption took the universe by surprise. The mysteries of redeeming love are yet puzzling angels. The purpose, as saith Paul, was in himself. "The purpose in himself." The purpose of mercy came from the depths of his own sovereign pleasure. The purpose therefore was a sovereign gratuity.

VI. The date and basis of election proves salvation a sovereign gratuity. v. 11. "For the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth, it was said unto her—"The elder shall serve the younger." Two things are obvious in this passage:

1. The election was antecedent to, and not predicated upon the good works of the chosen, or the surpassing badness of the rejected. In electing Jacob, and rejecting Esau, God's decision must have been in himself. The pre-exercise of his own choice of one to blessing, and of the other to cursing is seen when you notice the condition of the parties: they stand upon a level, and that a level of guilt, and just condemnation. Neither had any claim to favor; whatever, therefore, was bestowed upon either, falling short of distinction must have been a sovereign gratuity. On the chosen God confers an unmerited favor; on the rejected he only bestows what he deserves, and what justice and

equity approve. Under these circumstances to impeach sovereignty is unreasonable and a disloyal insult; because in one case, God, for motives in himself and to us unknown confers upon one free and unmerited favor, to demand that he is bound therefore either in equity or in justice to confer the same upon the other is, to say the least, unreasonable and officious. Neither does the charge of partiality hold good. Partiality supposes a preference predicated upon some disparity in the parties from which this election is made. No such preference could exist in this case. Any disparity in the parties which could furnish a motive to the choice is derived, for the parties were not yet born, neither had they done good or evil. True, indeed, the posterior date of their wickedness does not alter the case, as it was all foreseen when the choice was made, but it is mentioned here in order to disclaim any disparity of character as the basis of the election, and also to assert that the election had its motive in God. Its ends were known to himself alone,—ends concerning which it is not our province to enquire. This being so the charge of partiality falls to the ground. This seems to have been the precise point of Divine Sovereignty which Christ had in view and which he intended to endorse and approve in his memorable prayer of thanksgiving in view of the triumphs of grace reported by his disciples—"I thank thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for *so it seemeth good in thy sight.*" Beyond the sovereign pleasure of God in the discriminations of his saving grace, he would not go. To that sovereignty he ascribed the elective distinctions, thus endorsing and sustaining the right of its sovereign exercise, and the equity of his discriminations. The rights of sovereignty on the part of God are endorsed, but it is that sovereignty which is in harmony with moral law. Clouds and thick darkness are often round about him, but justice and judg-

ment are the habitation of his throne. Under God's sovereignty all the rights of all his subjects are sacred, and all legitimate claims to vengeance are sacred in his integrity. The only case in the history of the Universe where execution to the letter has failed is in the case of apostate man, nor does he allow, even in that case, transgression and vengeance to be separated. But since the claim of that violated law for vengeance has been magnified by the substitutional sufferings of Christ, mercy is possible, but yet for mercy the apostate has no claims; on whom that mercy shall be bestowed, or from whom withheld is a matter over which Divine Sovereignty is absolute, and neither restrained nor modified by any rights on the part of the transgressors. Of any disposal he is pleased to make of them, if it does not transcend the legitimate penalty for their crimes, they will have no reason to complain. Nor can any being in the Universe have reason to complain for them. Beyond this, God has been pleased to proclaim pardon and salvation free to all who repent and believe on his Son. This offer so gracious, so free, by the spirit of apostacy has been the subject of universal scorning and rejecting. To this rejection there are no exceptions. All in his sight are on the same level, are under this second or double condemnation. Viewed at that standpoint, surely Divine Sovereignty is vindicated in doing that which is clearly expressed in verse 18. "Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth." On all upon whom mercy falls, therefore, it is a sovereign gratuity.

VII. That salvation is a sovereign gratuity will further appear if we notice the recorded instances of divine interposition in favor or for the benefit of man. There have ever been interpositions within the limitations of justice, never inflicting arbitrary harm, but conferring unmerited favor; take for instance the election, emancipation and preservation of the Jewish nation as the medium of revelation and the introduc-

tion of Christ to the world. In doing this sovereignty had an end of its own in view, with which as a nation, a people, they had no sympathy. But in using them to reach that end he did them no harm, but great good. "What advantage, then, had the Jew, or what profit is there of circumcision? Much every way. Chiefly that unto them were committed the oracles of God; who were Israelites, to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose were the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, (or God over all,) blessed forever. Amen." Whether abused or improved, these were exalted privileges. To these privileges they were elected, or chosen from all the families of the earth. They did not elect themselves; they turned away from God, and sought the life of Moses. There was scarcely a period from their release from Egyptian bondage, when but for the restraining power of God they would not have relapsed into idolatry and heathenism. Neither were they better than other nations of the earth, but worse. They had received the law by the disposition of angels, and had not kept it. Their election, therefore, to their exalted privileges was sovereign and gratuitously kind. God elected them with reference to no virtue or right in themselves, but as instruments to an end —a benignant and glorious end; and with no injustice, but much gratuitous kindness, he used them to that end. It was all sovereign, and graciously within the bounds of justice. Again, the same characteristics of sovereignty are seen in his electing to righteousness and salvation from among the Jews. In all their idolatrous apostasies from God, he left not himself without witnesses. So in the great apostasy under Ahab and Jezebel, when Elijah supposed the defection was universal, "yet have I left to myself 7000 in Israel that have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him." In his sovereign electing love

God elected and preserved a remnant as a nucleus around which Israel was again rallied and saved from utter destruction. They deserved destruction, but the exercise of sovereignty within the bounds of justice spared them. And so also his election to everlasting salvation from their number was alike a sovereign gratuity, illustrated by this civil election. This is most clearly and beautifully stated by the Apostle in Rom. xi. 1–8 inclusive; referring to this preservative election, he says in verse 5: "Even so at this present time also there is a remnant according to the election of grace, and if it be of *grace*, then it is no more of *works*;" and verse 7, "What then? Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for, but the election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded." Their exalted privileges were incompetent to save.

VIII. The relations of apostasy to Divine Sovereignty are such as to vindicate the arbitrament of God concerning the non-elect. Having shown that salvation is a sovereign gratuity, we have arrived at a standpoint where we can understandingly survey the operations of his sovereignty concerning the lost, or non-elect. Let me call attention to three distinct manifestations of Divine Sovereignty in God's dealings with man, in which, by the foregoing considerations, God is vindicated.

1. In his sovereign control and use for his own ends of all men, both good and bad. In noticing this you will observe that they, both men and things, must either be left to their own choice, or to accident, or to the control of God. To suppose the first or the second is to suppose that God has abandoned his own responsibility to all for all. It is in fact to deny God's providential care and superintendence of the affairs of the world beyond the enactment and promulgation of law, and the expostulations of his grace. An absurdity so monstrous that few assert it, while many call it in question in particular cases; but is it not obvious that if in a *solitary case* the rights of sovereign

control be denied, on the same principle it should be denied in all cases? If there be any one exception to God's right to sovereign control over men or angels, or material things, that objection would lie with equal force against all control beyond law and moral suasion. If he may leave one man or angel out of his control, then may he on the same principle leave all out, and so his superintending care and his governmental responsibilities are at an end. And on the other hand, if in any one case for motives within himself he may over and above and beyond law and moral control, by an unseen but superintending power, and that, too, without interfering with or thereby modifying the responsibilities of the subjects of his moral government, thus control them, then by the same principle may he thus control all the subjects of his moral government, without in the least thereby interfering with their moral responsibilities. Principles of right and wrong are of no partial, but of universal application. That Divine Sovereignty has thus interposed an absolute control is clear from the historic word. Again, if being and matter be not left to their own choice, or to blind chance, then they must be subject to the control of God. The record of divine interposition and control of wicked agents will clearly show two things, viz: that the control was minutely designed and executed on the part of God, and also that the responsibility of the agent was not interfered with. Take the case of Joseph, Gen. xlv. 4, "For God did send me before you to preserve life;" and verses 7 and 8, "God sent me before you to preserve you a posterity in the earth, and to save your lives by a great deliverance. So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God, and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh and Lord of all his house." It is clear that the entire transaction which brought Joseph to his then position is ascribed to the minute and superintending care of Divine Providence. From the prophetic dream of Joseph to his then position, there was a moral neces-

sity governing all contingencies. In their hatred, in the dreams, and in the selfish state of their hearts, was a moral necessity. From their hatred they could not speak peaceably to him; from their hatred and the opportunities which presented themselves, there was a necessity for all they did concerning Joseph. So in the lust of Potiphar's wife and the amiabilities of the young man there was a necessity, and so every agent, in all the circumstances of his imprisonment, release and exaltation to the throne, there was a moral necessity in the heart of the actors or the circumstances, whether the butler or the baker in the dreams of Pharaoh, in the famine, etc., etc., a necessity under the control of God which guided to and accomplished the glorious results. But were Joseph's brethren, Potiphar's wife, the selfishly forgetful butler, or the persecutors of Joseph who hurt his feet in the fetters, the less guilty? The fact is, moral necessity magnifies the guilt, and affords no apology for the transgressor. This is clearly seen in this case. The more terrible their hatred to Joseph the more fatal the necessity, and the deeper their guilt, so of Potiphar's wife, and all the other guilty agents; but God loved Jacob and had future use for Israel, and so he controlled all these guilty agents to accomplish his own glorious end; thus causing the wrath of man to praise him, and restraining the remainder of wrath.

Thus also in the case of Pharaoh in after years, the manifestations of the divine power and glory in sight of the nations of the earth, were a result indispensable to the establishment of the Theocracy — the reign of God over the Jews, a result that revelation could not spare. To bring about that result, Pharaoh with his overbearing, oppressive, cowardly and reckless course was necessary. "For this same purpose," said God, "have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee, and that my name might be known." For his oppression there was a moral necessity in his covetousness and lust of power, and in the feebleness of

his victim. Therein was his guilt. God wielded it. For his vacillating as he did there was a necessity in his cowardice, and in the aspects of divine justice. For his temerity, which resulted in his doom, there was a necessity in his pride, his unbelief and his love of vindictive vengeance upon his escaping victims; but it is obvious that all these necessities afforded no excuse; they augmented his guilt; and the deliverance of Israel was the triumph of God over Pharaoh and his host. It was the triumph of justice over the most high-handed wickedness.

Illustrations might be greatly multiplied, but I will mention but one more, and that is the crucifixion of Christ. In this instance the two things after which we are looking will most clearly appear, viz:—The fact and minuteness of control and the non-interference with human responsibility. Acts iv. 27. "For of a truth against thy holy child Jesus whom thou hast annointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the people of Israel were gathered together, for to do whatever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done." Of these persecuting parties,—guilty temerity—the prophet had before said, see Ps. iv. "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers gathered together against the Lord and against his Christ." And that their responsibility was not interfered with by that sovereign control Peter says, Acts ii. 23. "Him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken and by wicked hands have slain." These declarations with the simple narrative of all the facts of the case leave no doubt upon the mind that their responsibility was not tampered with, nor their guilt lessened by the omnipotent control which God exercised over the whole matter. It is equally obvious that God did control it all. His hand and his counsel determined what they all did. To suppose that any event in that transaction was left to uncertain contingencies and without Divine appoint-

ment and control is to impeach God's omnipotence, his wisdom, and his power. On that transaction hinged the great work of redemption. A failure to put the Son of God to death would have frustrated the whole enterprise! Could its Author be indifferent? On the minutiæ of the acts and scenes at his death depended the truth of prophesy,—his future credentials; could he be indifferent to, or leave lose the minutest of those scenes? His only begotten Son was the sufferer under all these hands; could his loving Father be indifferent? or leave him subject to caprice, or accident? A just conception of the character of God certainly forbids. Men put the scourge, the nails, the wormwood and the gall into his cup, but yet the Father hath mingled it, and put it to his lips. I will only say in conclusion, in these instances Divine Sovereignty could purpose and control the wicked agents to the exact accomplishment of its own will without interfering with their moral responsibilities, and if so, then the same is true of all the affairs of men and things. God reigns over devils and wicked men by his government of power, or his forced government, and thus secures the *holy* and gives justice to the vile. The conclusion from all these instances is truthfully summed up by the Apostle in our chapter, from the 22nd to the 23rd verses—(chap. ix.) "What if God, willing to show his wrath and make his power known, endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction." In all the operations of his sovereignty it has been a matter of forbearance, and by overtures and opportunities of kindness affording them opportunities to develop their wickedness in sight of angels and men in order that God's retributive wrath may redound to his glory in their sight. And so also on the part of the saved, his patient forbearance will have developed their utter depravity, and put the crown of salvation on the head of sovereign grace. The riches of his grace are thus magnified; thus they will stand out in the light of all worlds as plucked up from unmingled

guilt, and just condemnation, and converted from utter sinfulness to righteousness. Our proposition stands good — salvation is a sovereign gratuity.

Before we pass from this Doctrine of Divine Sovereignty, I wish to present for your consideration the relation it sustains to the entire work of salvation. This relation you may discover from what has been already said. But I wish to present it in so clear a light that divested of the absurd myths that prejudice and spiritual blindness have thrown around it you may feel and see its eternal propriety, yea, more, its indispensable necessity and its benignant utility. I will notice two things.

1. Of absolute sovereignty itself, and

2. Its application to the entire work of salvation.

I. God's sovereignty is absolute over all creatures and things. To do justice to the subject a volume is required. A few distinct points must suffice.

1. God is the Creator of all beings and things. His proprietorship is absolute; there is none in the universe to dispute it.

2. God originated all creatures and things with design, for one great end, viz: his own glory. Indifference to any part of that which he has made to that end cannot be conceived of; that he has a choice, a preference concerning all, is self-evident.

3. That his choice, care, preference concerning all to the minutiæ, even the smallest atom, or to the most inferior being is equally obvious. The well known connection between cause and effect often gives consequence to the atom, or to the fly, unsurpassed by that of a star or an angel. To leave either without his control might endanger the whole.

4. If any being he has made has rights to be respected even by himself as sacred, those rights are not only in harmony with, but are derived from him, and had their origin and relations from his sovereign choice and power. His choice concerning them, while it is arbitrary and absolute, can never be aggressive

upon the rights of any. The rights of God are inherent in the rights of the insect and the angel. To infringe upon either would be to infringe on his own rights.

5. God's power is co-extensive with his pleasure, or his choice. Choice, purpose and power are never separated in God, nor wanting in relation to all his works, to all existence resultant from his power.

Put all these self-evident considerations together, and you have God's sovereignty absolute, minute and efficient.

II. The application of this doctrine to the work of salvation.

What is true of Israel as stated by Esaias, and quoted by Paul in verse 29, is true of a lost world: "Except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a remnant, we had been as Sodom and like unto Gomorrah." To the sovereign, electing, absolute and discriminating purpose of God, backed by his omnipotence, shall the salvation of all the redeemed be ascribed, and as the equitable and judicial administrative, to it will the final disposal of all the lost be ascribed. Properly to discuss this proposition I feel again a volume is demanded, but I shall present only a few points of illustration and evidence, yet of so definite, clear and obvious force as, I hope, will settle the truth of it forever in your minds, leaving much to your present and future thought and investigation.

1. Sin, the guilt of apostasy, is co-extensive with the race of man.

2. The just and equitable condemnation of God's holy law is also co-extensive with the race. The legal sentence of the law is upon them, and justice demands that in due time judicial sentence shall follow, inflicting executive wrath.

3. The purpose to save and restore any of the lost could not originate with the lost themselves. In the turpitude of their apostasy there is a moral necessity of its continuance. For restoration they have no

rights to plead, nor desire to return to allegiance if they could; nor could such a desire originate with created holiness in their behalf. Without grasping the indemnity to the law by the death of Christ, such a desire on their part would have been treason against God's just government; with the transgressor they could have no sympathy. The purpose to save, therefore, could only originate with God, or give to justice a sacrifice which would indemnify justice, and so magnify his law without his own impeachment as the administrator and executive of a just government. The purpose, the desire to save, therefore, had its origin in absolute sovereignty.

4. The vicarious sacrifice of Christ, the unknown and unthought-of, on the part of the created, assumption of man's sin, and the suffering of Christ instead of the guilty, could only proceed from God. The conception of such a sacrifice could only originate in the Infinite mind. The furnishing of such a sacrifice, and the entire accomplishment of that work of provision for salvation could only proceed from the infinity of God. Thus far surely, sovereignty, absolute and uncounseled, acts alone.

5. The heart rejection of this provision for man's recovery from the fall is co-extensive with the race. The waywardness of the heart that rushed into apostasy and committed the guilt, spurned the homage which Christ in his death paid to the law which they had violated. To whomsoever Christ was made known without exception, the carnal heart did two things,—it stumbled at the stone, spurned Christ and cleaved to the revolt. The rejection of the Gospel is co-extensive with the race. Had sovereignty stopped here with all the overtures of mercy and moral persuasion that have ever reached the ear of apostate man,—not a soul of man would have been saved. To use the words of the prophet, we should have been as Sodom, and have been made like unto Gomorrah. To save, it was needful for sovereignty unsought, and self-moved,

or with motives in itself, to do two things more:—1. To select or to elect from the fallen mass those individuals on whom the work of recovering grace should be accomplished. All stand upon a level in sin before God, alike in guilt, and alike in indisposition; none have claims. The election must be sovereign. It must be from motives in himself, sovereign and gratuitous. To sum up the argument on this point, all are alike claimless. All are alike indisposed and disinclined to elect themselves. God himself can begin the work of moral recovery on none until he has elected the individual on whom to begin the work. All willingness on the part of man is the fruit, not the cause, of recovering and subduing grace. To make men willing is the special work of the Holy Ghost. Therefore the election must be of God, as stated by Paul—Ephes. i. 3, 4. "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us according as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love." And in chap. ii. 9 and 10—"Not of works, lest any man should boast, for we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus *unto* good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them." The redeemed will be indebted to God for personal favor, and the preworking of his Spirit in every act of their lives, which is recorded on God's book as a loyal act—in all their lives. We therefore come to the unavoidable conclusion that sovereign, electing grace is the omnipotent cause to which is to be ascribed the salvation of all that are to be saved of our fallen race. Divine Sovereignty is the source whence flows the purpose, the provision, the election, and the regeneration of all that ever have been or will be saved.

The same may be affirmed concerning the finally lost, with this striking difference which is never to be lost sight of, viz:—that the decisions of Divine Sovereignty are negative,—the non-interference with, and the non-revocation of the sinner's choice—a gracious forbear-

ance until the vileness and persevering temerity of that choice shall develop itself in the sight of all worlds, and the equitable and judicial execution of simple justice, in all of which the freedom, all that constitutes the sinner's responsibility, is not interfered with. Let it be distinctly remarked that this negative decree of Divine Sovereignty is *only* the non-interference of his forced government. By it their relations under his moral government are left untouched. Every thing which under that can be done for their good, and which love and kindness can do for them is done. To them the door of mercy is fully opened. They are pressed with the commands, expostulations and entreaties of God, who swears to them by his own life that he has no pleasure in their death, but would that they should turn and live. See Ezek. xviii. 32. He stays the execution of justice upon them, hedges them about with his kindness, hedges their way to death with obstacles of persuasive love, and at the last when they shall freely and of their own guilty choice, have broken through every barrier of love, when they shall have trampled redemption mercies under their feet, and thus become, to use Paul's words, "fitted to destruction," when they shall thus have sealed their own doom, the sovereignty of God, ever in harmony with the equity of his moral government, does in the execution of its own also execute the decree of the sinner. He does but execute simple justice.

This is reprobation, or, if you please, decretive reprobation, against which no candid thoughtful mind can offer an objection,—against which no murmur will arise at the last day. The Holy will shout "Alleluiah!" and the hosts of the lost and of devils will be silent. I close this discussion then with this simple statement, viz:—Both the salvation of the redeemed, and the doom of the lost are reached by the decretive, the absolute, and the minute control of God's sovereignty, with this difference,—in the case of the saved Divine Sovereignty for its own gracious and loving ends interposes omnip-

otence, in addition to the infinite and ample provisions of his grace, and persuasive overtures, and expostulations of his love to make the sinner willing; while in the case of the lost, under all the free exhibitions of his love, and mercy, and long-suffering, and forbearance he does *not* interpose his omnipotence to prevent them from having their own choice. The kindness, the equity and the justice of God are vindicated in both. And at the last day all worlds shall unite in giving glory, honor, might, dominion and power to him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb forever and ever, for the wonders of redeeming grace, and glory; halleluiah, and honor when the smoke and the torment of the wicked ascendeth up, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth; yea, there will come up a sweet savor of Christ from them that are lost. See 2 Cor. ii. 15.

LECTURE XXXI.

ROM. IX. 31.

"But Israel which followed after the law of righteousness hath not attained to the law of righteousness," etc.

Prop.—By the deeds of the law; by works, or in other words, by personal obedience to the requisitions of God there can no flesh be saved. The way of escape from sin and death by any code of virtue—by conformity to the law of God itself, has been one of the most fatal delusions of man. By it none ever became righteous.

1. This is seen by the failure of the Jews, many of whom were zealous of the law. Paul himself testifies of them, "for I bear them record that they have a zeal for God." But they failed, and he tells the reason why. "Being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish a righteousness of their own, they have not submitted themselves unto the

righteousness of God." They gloried in the law of God, perfect obedience to which is life. But that perfect righteousness which God and his law demands is found only Christ, imputed to the believer in Christ, and transferred by the renewing and sanctifying power of the Holy Ghost to the believer. Over this fact the Jews stumbled, for they "stumbled at that stumbling stone," and hence with all their zeal for God they failed. All their acts of seeming obedience were qualified by the state of their hearts, which rendered seeming and even technical obedience rebellious. They sprung from a sinister root; the same root that sent forth the rejection, and scorn, and hatred, and malice, and violence, and murder of the Son of God. They followed after the law of righteousness, but they never overtook it. The very law in which they gloried condemned them to death.

2. None can live by a personal conformity to God's law, because it is too late. If it could be so that sinless perfection should follow from any period of a man's life, the fearful sins, the moral debt of the past, would rise up to condemn him. The future demands all; if that all be rendered, the claims of the future are only met. There is nothing to spare for the claims of the past.

3. The law of God, of righteousness, is a unit. The whole of its authority is in every minute part. "He that offends in the iota is guilty of the whole." The righteousness of Christ therefore imputed and transferred to the sinner by faith can alone justify him before God.

4. Every one who seeks to work out a righteousness of his own, however earnest or sincere, or who *thinks* he can work out a righteousness of his own, or intends or purposes to work out a righteousness of his own, will be sure to stumble at that stumbling-stone. To all such, Christ understood, will be sure to be an offense.

5. This delusion is the more fatal because so com-

plete, so specious is it, that it enlists not only the heart but the judgment and conscience. Under its baleful influence Paul was as conscientious in his persecutions of Christ as he was afterwards in his service. To the unenlightened from above, salvation by faith, really appears like a way of escaping from condemnation without righteousness. To understand how the law of righteousness is attained by faith without works is a mystery, seldom, if ever, grasped by the unquickened soul. Of legal righteousness, or works, the carnal mind can only conceive. Upon the righteousness of faith, or by faith, the wisdom of man looks down with conscientious pride and scorn. It is to be feared that at this day there are thousands, who under the ritualistic Pharisaism of the Gospel are as conscientiously earnest in establishing a righteousness of their own, and even with the name of Jesus upon their tongues, have no conception of the righteousness of God, which is purely by faith without works, as were those of whom Paul speaks in the 3rd and 4th verses of chapter x., and to whom this 5th verse is an unfathomable mystery or untruth, viz: "For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth."

In all the work of an evangelical ministry there is nothing pertaining to man's condition which imposes more fearful responsiblility, or which will so put his judgment, his skill and his integrity to the test as this. To discern the sly workings of this delusion demands a spiritual eye. To tear away the veil from those deceived by it demands a firmness which the pure love of God in the soul only can give. To make known to such the deception of their hope, and the unmodified and fearful virulence of their guilt, demands a boldness not of the carnal, but of the spiritual soldier of Christ—a boldness which no animal courage can give; a boldness that has no price, but is inspired by fidelity to God.

I will not multiply words, but I speak with no ordi-

nary desire that the weight of what I say should be felt; that in your work for the Master to which you have been called you will find no point in all your labors in which there are more numerous or more subtle temptations to unfaithfulness, or so many liabilities to failure, as at this one. There will be no point around which such fearful responsibilities cluster as around this.

As you would guard souls at a point of life and death, let no indifference paralyze your vigilance here; let no obtuseness becloud your minds on this point; I pray you, let there be no sinister trifling with old or young at this place where two seas meet, and where millions wreck and go down to despair. The Jews expected a Messiah, but their imaginary Messiah was a myth, the real Messiah they rejected. O! it is to be feared the Jesus upon thousands of tongues is as much a myth, and their reliance upon works, and their heart-ignorance of the real Jesus as profound as was that of the Jews. To undeceive a Pharisaic world, both Jews and Gentiles, is no small share of your work as preachers of that faith which relies upon the righteousness of God in Christ Jesus.

LECTURE XXXII.

ROM. X. 17–13–15.

"So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, for whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved. How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed; and how shall they believe on him of whom they have not heard, and how shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach except they are sent, as it is written: How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of them who preach the Gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things."

From these unequivocal declarations, I deduce the following proposition, which I wish you earnestly to consider, viz:

Prop.—God in the exercise of his sovereign prerogative has ordained that his people shall be saved, not without, but in the use of means—those instrumentalities which he has appointed, or to use the language of Scripture itself, "By the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe."

1. We have seen in discussing the doctrine of Divine Sovereignty that in no case or degree does it interfere with or fetter the functions of God's moral government. We have seen that the forced government of God is ever superadded to moral appliances, and that too for a gracious end, and that it in no wise mars or renders inappropriate law, command, expostulation, or persuasion. From his profound investigation, and clear and hearty vindication of the sovereignty of God in his electing, regenerating and saving grace, Paul comes forth all aglow for the work. Upon the burning ardor of his heart for the work of salvation, and his anxious care for the condition of the lost, or upon his zeal to make known to them the way of life upon the blood of the cross, there has fallen no chill; no shadow of antinomian presumption falls upon his pathway; he hails the beauty of the feet upon the mountains of those who preach the gospel of peace. He proclaims afresh the indispensable necessity of the heralds of salvation to the accomplishment of God's glorious work of saving grace. "How shall they believe on him of whom they have not heard, and how shall they hear without a preacher?" If from the creed of any their zeal for the work of the gospel is chilled, and the most earnest effort to win souls to Christ seems to them inappropriate or inconsistent, either their creeds or their hearts are at fault and defective. They are not Pauline.

2. In God's appeal to the hearts of men he does not set aside or ignore the intellect. If his forced govern-

ment interfere it is to do no violence to the laws of nature, but to chasten, correct, and invigorate the natural functions of manhood. Does he quicken the eye into vision? He gives it light by which to discern, and objects on which to look. Does he quicken the body into life? He gives an atmosphere to breathe, and motives to the intellectual development of life's activities. So does he quicken the heart into the moral activities of Love? He presents to that heart through the intellectual discernment a God to love, a Christ to trust, a holiness to inspire, and a prize for which to run. Grace aims not merely to rescue the sinner from the punishment of sin, but the whole man from its death-fetters as well the intellect as the heart. Indeed, God appeals to the heart through the intellect. It is through the intellect that God sets himself before the heart. The Gospel itself is his power (through its intellectual appeal to the heart) unto salvation. The whole Bible contemplates saving men in no other way. The heart never acts but by its apprehension through the intellect. Whether it chooses or repels, it must discern the object. If therefore God by the abstract power of the Holy Ghost will change the heart from sin to himself, he *will*, he *must*, through the enlightenment of the truth, set sin and himself so before the mind, or heart, that it can act in view of them both. Indeed, if the abstract power of the Spirit change the heart, it is to the love of truth itself. This it cannot do if there be no truth presented for the heart to love. This added power of the Spirit is what faith has reason to expect, and herein is the encouragement to speak, to run, to toil for the salvation of dying men.

3. The sovereignty of God is so far from a dissuasive to labor, a dissuasive to warn, to plead, to expostulate with men, that it is the very inspiration of effort, and nerves the soul to warn and rebuke the soul with all long-suffering and doctrine. The sovereign, electing love of God carriés its own vitalizing energies from the throne through all the host of God's elect for the

accomplishment of the work, and the heart that can make it an apology for indifference, or inactivity is without the circle of its electric influence. It is not right before God. The heart that gets its zeal from ignoring the electing love of Divine Sovereignty is blind to the disease it would cure, and to the remedy which alone can heal or save. He heals slightly the hurt of the soul. It is a misguided zeal that ends in ruin; when the blind lead the blind, they both fall into the ditch.

LECTURE XXXIII.

ROM. XI, 11, 12, 15.

One more beautiful exemplification of the Doctrine of Divine Sovereignty in the work of salvation is seen in the fall and rejection of the Jews. When we shall have noticed this we are at the end of the Apostles' wonderful exhibition of the plan of redemption.

"I say, then, have they stumbled that they should fall? God forbid. But through their fall, salvation is come to the Gentiles for to provoke them to jealousy. Now if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles, how much more their fullness? For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the death."

For an understanding of these passages let us notice three things:

1. The relation of the Jews to God and of Christ to the Jews.

2. The dissolution of this relation and of this design.

3. The relation of the *saved*, both Jews and Gentiles to Christ.

1. The Jews were under a covenant of life to the holy, but of death to transgressors, and so of death to them. They were in bondage, and in their relations to God, they answered as a covenant people, they

answered to the relation which Hagar sustained to Abraham. See Gal. iv. 22–25. Their covenant was that of the law; they had received it, as said Stephen, "by the disposition of angels," and had not kept it; they were in bondage unto sin and death. They had sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression against positive law, and a law too, which they themselves had sanctioned as good, and were under its curse. Their position was in some respects unique; their transgression was complete in guilt, and their bondage was under the penal demands of justice, stern and inflexible. It was in this condition that Christ assumed his relationship to them. He became one of them. As concerning the flesh he came of them. "He was made of a woman, made under the law, that he might redeem them that were under the law." He assumed their position under the law. He assumed their guilt and their curse. As one of them, he became obnoxious to the curse of the law which they had violated. Theirs was a state of apostate nature, and though free from sin he entered that state. It was in that state that the Jews were his natural branches. Not nominally as most would have it, but *natural* branches. See Rom. xi. 1–24. Christ is the good olive-tree, and the Jews were its natural branches; his branches in a state of nature, a state of bondage. By their covenant they (and he was one of them having assumed their state) were doomed to wrath. Life was forfeited, and demanded of justice; and its demands were backed by the integrity and omnipotence of the Godhead. This was their state, and this the relation Christ sustained to them, and had he been a mere man he would, having assumed that relation, have perished with them but not for them.

2. Let us notice the dissolution of this relation and its design. It is a question it behooves us well to understand, what is meant by the breaking off of the natural branches. I remark:

1. It was not the expulsion of the Jews from the

church to make room for the Gentiles. The Jews never belonged to the Gospel Church, nor did Christians as such ever join the Jewish Church. Beside, there could be no want of room in either for all that should want a place in them. Neither was it a rejection of them from God's providential forbearance and kindness, it was indeed as much a matter for their good as it was for the good of others. See v. 12: "How much more therefore their fullness." Neither was it the purging of the Jewish Church of unbelieving members; no such disciplinary law or process was ever instituted; if one were a descendant from Abraham, he was entitled to membership, except for the violation of some specific law. He had incurred the death penalty, or was a leper, and put apart for physical uncleanness, or a eunuch, in which case, regardless of moral character, they were shut out of the camp.

It was a dissolution between Christ and his natural branches. His natural (not nominal) branches were broken off, and broken off as an act indispensable to the salvation of either Jews or Gentiles. "What then? Have they stumbled that they should fall? God forbid. Through their fall salvation has come to the Gentiles to provoke them to jealousy." The dissolution was intended as much for the benefit of the Jewish as for the Gentile world. The manner of breaking off, of the dissolution, will also very clearly indicate the end or design.

In that transaction was fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah liii: "All we like sheep have gone astray — the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all;" and v. 10, "Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him; he hath put him to grief; when thou shalt make his soul (life) an offering for sin, he shall see his seed; he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand." The time of his cutting off came, and through the Eternal Spirit he offered himself without spot unto God. Before the law he assumed the guilt of the Jews; and as the greater

always involves the less, he assumed the sin of the Gentile, as well as the Jewish world. With the Jews he was under the claims of justice; he met those claims, he asked for no abatement, plead guilty, and bared his bosom to the sword of divine justice. The stroke fell, and he sunk in death, the substitute of the guilty. He made his life an offering; he suffered "the just for the unjust," a suffering spectacle, under the eye of the universe. The judicial vengeance of the law was poured upon him. The debt was paid, he "restored that which he took not away." In so doing he obtained release and passed out through the portals of death, thus dissolving forever his relation to his natural branches. He left them in bondage, but the door of escape was left open behind him. Such as believed in him passed out with him. And having escaped, he proclaims the way of escape to both Jews and Gentiles through that act of his own escape from bondage and death; and from all that were his natural branches, and so with him in bondage. It is in this way that their fall is the riches of the Gentiles, and their own ultimate fullness. The bond-woman gives place to the free-woman; Jerusalem, which is above and is free, bears children. Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children, is cast out. So then, brethren, as Isaac was, we are not children of the bond-woman, but of the free. While gospel mercies appeal to the Jews as men, in common with the Gentiles as a covenant people, they are rejected— "their house is left unto them desolate." As Abraham sent Hagar away, so God sends his bond-people away, now that the grace covenant has borne a people. The natural branches are broken off. When Christ passed from that state of bondage he left them there; "true, because of unbelief they were broken off." Had they believed on him they had passed out with him, but they preferred their bondage. Their pride and self-righteousness stumbled at the humbling way of escape through the merits of the Saviour's blood, and so rejected him, and sealed their own doom.

3. We come now, in the third place, to consider the relation which, in the allegorical language of the Apostle in this chapter, he gives to such as are saved, both Jews and Gentiles.

This he states in verse 24: "For if thou wert cut out of the olive-tree, which is wild by nature, and wert grafted contrary to nature into a good olive-tree, how much more shall these which be the natural branches be grafted into their own olive-tree?

Here we have two olive-trees. No doubt allusion is had to the two organic heads mentioned in the fifth chapter, the first and second Adam. The olive-tree was a type of *moral* fruit-bearing man. Its fruit was sacred to temple use. The first Adam before he fell was such a tree, but he became estrayed from God, and wild. Such were his branches. All men bear olive-berries still, but wild ones. Moral character attaches to their deeds, though sinful and wild, well described as wild olive-berries. To this wild olive-tree the fallen world belong. From this wild olive-tree the Gentiles are cut. The tree is doomed to be burned, but what of it God will spare, he cuts from it. In their case judgment is anticipated. They are condemned beforehand. This is what the Apostle calls "slain by the law." It is what every new-born soul experiences in his conviction of sin. He is separated from the stock into a perfect individuality and cut off, condemned. Left there, despair and damnation would begin; but his judgment is hastened, for a purpose of mercy. The tree lives on for the final judgment, but he has the judgment now. Paul himself has the same experience when he says, "I was alive once without the law, but when the commandment came sin revived, and I died." The horticulturist slays the scion, when he severs it from its original stock, but not for its destruction, but salvation. So also the great husbandman severs the branch from the wild olive-tree, not for its destruction, but that he may graft it into a good olive-tree, that is into himself, for Christ is the good olive-tree.

But mark, this grafting into the good tree is *peculiar*. The Apostle says it is contrary to nature. This is no mistaken figure—"*contrary to nature.*" To make his figure complete the law of nature is changed. If the grafting were according to nature, the scion would still bear the fruit of the old stock. But in this case, it is *contrary* to nature, and the scion, bad in its original stock, is made to bear the fruit of the tree into which it is grafted. The sap of the tree into which it is grafted, in passing through it and giving it nourishment and life, is not changed, as by the law of nature it would be into the character of the scion, but changes the character of the scion, and still sends forth its own fruit. Thus it is indeed that souls, grafted into Christ, are assimilated into his likeness, and henceforth they have their fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life. Their character, their state and their doom are by this grafting changed from the wild olive-tree to the good olive-tree. They are hid with Christ in God, and when he who is their life shall appear, then shall they also appear with him in glory.

But this is not peculiar to the Gentiles. The Jews never lost their relation to the first Adam. They were with him under the covenant of law and of death. It was that state which Christ assumed with them. It was in that state that they were his natural branches. In saving them they are put upon a level with the Gentiles. As Paul says, Ephes. ii. 14–18, "For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us, having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments, contained in ordinances, for to make in himself of twain, one new man, so making peace. And that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the Cross, having slain the enmity thereby, and came and preached peace unto you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh. For through him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father." The distinctions of the Sinai covenant were

temporary and ended at the cross. Henceforth, Jews and Gentiles stood upon the dead level of sin and death, to be saved by the same process of grace. So says the Apostle in our text, "How much more shall these which be the natural branches be grafted into *their own* olive-tree." He was their own olive-tree, he was of them. He was the "holy one of Israel," and the *only* "holy one" of Israel. The relation Christ had sustained to them had afforded them opportunities of light, and of the transformation of character, which, when grafted into Christ as the Gentiles were, contrary to nature, developed the scion into blossom and fruit, and the beautiful and vigorous life of the tree, with a facility and readiness unknown to the Gentiles, whose minds were enveloped in the almost rayless darkness of the Gentile world. Well might the Apostle say, "*how much more* their fullness." Of such materials were composed the host of early disciples, displaying an early and vigorous development never surpassed, and rarely if ever equalled by converts from the Gentile world.

Well may the Apostle exclaim, in view of this wonderful development of the plan of saving mercy—"Behold, therefore, the goodness and severity of God! on them which fell—severity; but toward thee—goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: but otherwise thou shalt be cut off." This was the ruin of the Roman Church,—the substitution of will-worship, and they are cut off by the same death of Christ. Romanism and Judaism are twin sisters. God will save to holiness, or destroy in guilt. Law righteousness will as assuredly sever the Gentile from Christ as the Jew. The Gentile can no more be saved in his own goodness than the Jew. His (God's) goodness adhered to by faith can alone save. Pharisaism is the bane of the world,—the snare of the Gentile as well as the Jew. Well may the Apostle at this very point of his argument lift up his warning voice—"Salvation is no more of works, but of grace," to the humbling, but infinite bene-

fit of man, and to the infinite and eternal glory of Christ.

In view of this whole, this mighty argument of the Apostle to exalt Christ as the hope of a dying world, and to bring out to understanding and enriching the children of God in this marvelous exhibition of the God-devised plan of Redemption, his apostrophe to grace from the 33rd to the 36th verse inclusive is a fitting close—"O! the depths and the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out. For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or, who hath been his counsellor? or, who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him and through him, and to him are all things; to whom be glory forever. Amen."

Plans of Sermons.

Plans of Sermons.

I.

Job XL. 4.—*Behold, I am vile; what shall I answer thee? I will lay my hand upon my mouth.*

Int. Job? His friends? God?

Doct. Mercy is the good man's *only* plea with God. He may vindicate his integrity against evil aspersions of men, but before God he is dumb.

I. The very virtues which may vindicate him with men, are defective before God. God goes behind the act, to the heart-motive.

II. The wicked may accuse good men *falsely*, and at the same time overlook their real faults, while God sees them all.

III. That there is but a spot, or spots, on us, may vindicate us with men; but that there is a spot on us, will make us dumb before God.

IV. As good men get very near to God, they see their sins in the light of his countenance, and join with God in their abhorrence.

Ref. 1. Self-complacency is the growth of darkness, nourished by the partialities of pride; but it dies in the light of God.

2. Good men may be as bad as their enemies conceive of them, and yet their enemies may be false accusers, and malignant.

3. Would we bring sinners to repentance, we must bring the light to them. They must see themselves in the light of God.

4. Contact with God, on the mercy-seat, will give self-abhorrence, with hope; but on the judgment seat, self-abhorrence, with despair.

II.

ISAIAH XXVI. 20.—*Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee; hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast.*

Int. Expo. My people? Chambers? Until?

Doct. It is the prerogative of God's people, by faith, to hide themselves in God, when the storm of indignation falls upon the nation where they dwell.

I. The dwelling-place of his people, in the chambers of his presence, have the door-posts sprinkled with blood. They are excepted in the commission of the destroying angel.

II. They are secure in the assurance that the very destructive storm of indignation that sweeps around them is for their release, for their benefit. "All things," etc.

III. The chamber, to which faith retires, is the chamber of the divine presence. There they are not only relieved from the darkness of the doomed, but the mysterious light of God is in their blood-guarded dwelling.

Ref. 1. There is reason for this invitation of God to his people, and *why they should avail* themselves of such a retreat. "Behold the Lord cometh out of his place," (v. 21) to punish the inhabitants of the earth.

2. To avail ourselves of this invitation, we must be *his people* in the evangelical sense of that title. Storm after storm fell upon his typical people, until *all* but his spiritual people perished.

3. Woe to the shelterless when the storms of God's indignation fall; none escape the flood. Sodom, Israel.

III.

JOHN XVII. 17.—*Sanctify them through thy truth: thy word is truth.*

Int. Expo. Sanctify? Them? Through? Thy truth?

Doct. The truths of the gospel, as taught in the word of God, are at once the standard of perfection in the saints and the instrument of their consecration.

I. It is the standard and the instrument of their sanctification to God. The truths of the soul are in perfect harmony with God. When Christians are in heart and life in harmony with God, so with God

II. It is the standard and instrument of their sanctification to the saints. God's gospel truth is both the bond and the law of Christian unity. If they are steadfast in anything, it is in the faith or by the faith.

III. It is at once the standard and the instrument of sanctification to the *service* of God. The mind of God, and the details of conformity to that mind, are the formative power and the transformed beauty of the soul.

Ref. 1. It is the solemn duty of the ministers to teach the gospel, the *truth* as it is revealed in the scriptures, with its authority over the conscience, and with all its bearing upon both saint and sinner.

2. One great cause of the weakness of the churches; they want the bond of truth. They call for *entertainment* rather than edification. The demand has made the supply. To a great extent the ministry is subsidized.

3. We have reason to hope that the evangelical sanctification of the saints would soon be followed by the regeneration of sinners. Then will they teach "transgressors thy ways, and sinners will be converted" to God.

IV.

ISAIAH LXVI. 2.—*And that trembleth at my word.*

Int. Expo. To him? That trembleth? At my word?

Doct. The Bible, the Scriptures, the word of God demands our most profound reverence—even the reverence due to its author, and which forbids all trifling.

I. Because it is God's word, its authority is not intrinsic, but extrinsic; not in itself but in its author. As we treat God's word we treat God. It is fearful to trifle with the word of a king, but more so to trifle with the word of God.

II. Because God's word is the perfect and divinely authorized standard of life, by which we must be judged at the last day, perverted at our peril, and preserved intact by the retributions of eternity. 2 Tim. iii. 16; John xii. 48; Rev. xxii. 18–19.

III. Because God will magnify his word above all his name. He will fulfil it; not a promise or threatning shall fail; he will avenge it. At that day when God shall judge the world, triflers will stand amazed.

Ref. 1. If all this be true, the Scriptures should be read prayerfully. We need the Spirit to remove prejudice, promote the love of the truth, and quicken the understanding.

2. Studiously, understanding is a labor, and knowledge by research, and taken in by rumination.

3. In faith, or believingly; unbelief is subtle; it hides in indifference, in indecision. The slowness of heart to believe deprived the disciples of the benefit of all that Christ had said about his death and resurrection. This is largely the case with all disciples in reading the Bible.

4. Obediently; the gospel is truth not only to be learned, but obeyed. Almost every truth implies some duty which it enjoins. Much of it is only known in obedience. "If any man will do his will he shall

know of the doctrine, whether it be of God or whether I speak of myself." The divine authenticity of the word is known in obedience to it, "whether it *be of God.*"

V.

ISAIAH LV. 1.—*Ho every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk, without money and without price.*

Int. Expo. Ho? Thirsteth? Waters of Life? Price?

There are three things in this passage which we propose to notice in their order.

I. Sinners are under a pressing and conscious neccessity, which nature is incompetent to supply, and for which human desire can make no provision.

II. God himself proposes to meet that necessity. The proposition is sincere and the provision ample, and every way worthy of the sinner's confidence.

III. On his own responsibility the sinner does and must act, in view of that proposition. *He does act*, has all responsible power to act in the premises, and certain and unfailing results press him to act.

Ref. 1. These divine negotiations are upon matters of infinite moment, involving eternal life or eternal death. They deserve your attention.

2. The time of this negotiation will soon close. Sinner, the sweet voice of Jesus calling you to himself will soon cease. Hearken.

3. To God's remonstrance, cease from human device, hear God, and your soul shall live.

VI.

LUKE XIX. 41.—*And when he was come near he beheld the city, and wept over it.*

Int. Expo. He? Beheld? Wept? Over it?

Doct. Compassion is a vital attribute of God, revealed in Christ to the universe.

I. God makes no arbitrary revelation of his perfections; he is known by his works. His response to the woes of a lost world, in the plan of redemption, was the practical revelation of the existence of that perfection in God.

II. The vital power and energy of that perfection stood revealed to the universe in that unparalleled sacrifice made of God, to rescue and save a guilty world. Angels learned God's compassion at the cross.

III. The gushing tenderness of the God-man brought out in the life of Christ, his sympathies with the suffering and his tender woe for the lost, assures guilty, perishing men, of all ages, of its available tenderness.

Ref. 1. Redemption is a matter of universal interest. To angels, as well as men, it is the mirror reflecting the glory of the God-head. It is the key to the fountain of all evangelical joy.

2. The cross, the death scene, the amazing expenditure of divine compassion, the radiating point of saving compassion, and the central point to which the redeemed are drawn, is appropriately celebrated in the Lord's Supper.

3. Divine compassion, as it shines forth in all the gushing tenderness of the Son of God, is the Christian's ensample, and the measure of the sinner's guilt, and woe and doom.

VII.

LUKE XXII. 62.—*And Peter went out and wept bitterly.*

Int. Expo. Peter? Out? Wept? Bitterly?

Doct. When a consciousness of sin against Christ, and of the compassion of Christ, meet in the renewed heart, it results in evangelical repentance.

I. He is thus conscious of the guilty character of all

sin, as against divine compassion. All sin derives its most abhorrent type in view of the goodness of God.

II. Having himself experienced Christ's compassion, his own sin against that compassion wears a most heart-breaking aggravation, "weeps bitterly."

III. The Christian's sin takes him away from Christ, disrupts his peace and mars his union with Christ. His only way back is through evangelical repentance.

Ref. 1. We learn that sin in Christians is no less, but even more, odious than the sins of the unconverted. In sinning, *we* do it against ourselves, in violence to the new nature within us.

2. Would we hope to recover an erring, a sinning brother to holiness and penitence, our rebuke must be redolent of compassion. We must anticipate repentance with forgiving love, as Christ did.

3. The subject exhibits this contrast: Christians sin, but repent and live; while God's enemies sin, *excuse*, *vindicate*, and so spurn compassion and love, and perish.

VIII.

CANTICLES, V. 3.—*I have put off my coat; how shall I put it on? I have washed my feet, how shall I defile them?*

Int. Expo. A response to v. 2? Difficult? Why?

Doct. A recovery from a backsliding state is difficult, not to be expected without a struggle, nor then without divine help. Notice

I. The luxury of repose is to be abandoned. "I have put off my coat, and how shall I put it on?" Again: Carnal inactivity and repose must be abandoned; put on your coat.

II. The *cross* must be resumed. I have washed my feet, how shall I defile them again? The resumption of duties neglected tries the soul. Pride must be crucified. He fights hard.

III. The hidings of God's face have to be encount-

ered. The reproofs of God's truth induced v. 7, and in fellowship with Christ under the world's reproach, is restoration found, v. 9.

Ref. 1. If restoration costs so much, and is attended with so much pain, how earnestly we should labor to keep ourselves in the love of God.

2. How kind Christ is, not to retire under every insult, until he has roused us. When he puts in the hand of truth, our hearts are moved for him.

3. Backsliders can find him, and when they do, the church will share their joy, ch. iii., v. 4. The flesh slumbers, but the "*heart* waketh." The panting heart finds God, the waterbrook.

IX.

LUKE IV. 4.—*It is written that man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God.*

Int. Expo. Written? Live? Bread? Word? God?

Doct. God's truth is indispensable to the life of man; to his full development and healthful vigor.

I. *God's* truth is the light of man. What the light of the sun is to the herbage of the field, or to the animal world, God's truth is to the spirit of man. It introduces man to the universe.

II. It solves the doubt of *death* as to himself. His being, its origin and its destiny. It is indispensable to self-knowledge; without it man wonders at his spirit-phenomenon, but retires to the care of an animal.

III. It acquaints man with his counterpart—God; feeds him with heavenly manna. It surrounds him with a heavenly atmosphere, imparts to him the life-giving fellowship of God and the holy.

Ref. 1. A healthful state is a hungry state. It is ever indicated by an appetite for the word of God. The piety of the age is a sickly piety, indicated by a want of appetite for God's truth.

2. The words of God are too precious food, or med-

icine, for the soul, to be treated lightly. "*Every word* that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." God is in every word. Studiously to reject one, is to reject God.

3. The bread of this world is needful and to be received with thanksgiving, but he who attempts to live on it alone, shall die. The ragings of a wordless world are the struggles of dying manhood.

X.

PROVERBS XXVI. 2.—*As the bird by wandering, or the swallow by flying, so the curse causeless cannot come.*

Int. Expo. Bird-swallow? So? Curse? Causeless? Come?

Doct. There is a guilty cause in ourselves or others for all the ills that befall us in time and in eternity.

I. They come not from God, or if they do, they are compelled. For he doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men. Chastisement is to be charged to the corrected, and punishment to guilt.

II. The social and physical curses of earth can be traced, directly or indirectly, not to nature, but to the devices of moral depravity—such as drunkenness, debauchery, social outrage, and treason, and all the devices of depravity.

1. Drunkenness is unnatural. Man left to his instincts would never be a drunkard. Appetite must for vicious ends be schooled into so terrible a vice. Dram-shops are licensed factories of rowdies and villains.

2. Social outrage, licentiousness, can only abound in a school of vice. Nature is timid and modest, and only overcome by the demoralizing influence of drunkenness and vicious associations.

3. Treason to law, or country, has its cause in the vicious school of party politics, or in some great social wrong, which just government and righteous laws would suppress. Mobs, the former; slavery, the latter.

Ref. To the curse, in time or in eternity, we are

fatally liable, just as we are wedded to the cause; remove the *cause* and the *curse* will not come. Reformation only can avoid *the curse here;* and evangelical faith in Christ, the eternal curse of sin in eternity.

XI.

ROMANS VIII. 20.—*For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope.*

Int. Expo. Creature? Vanity? Willingly? Of him? Hope?

Doct. Temporal death is a divine expedient, demanded by reason of sin, and provided in mercy for man's good.

I. It stays the judgment and affords a day of grace to lost man. It keeps the prisoner on the hostage against the day of judgment. The court is put off till the generations have their day.

II. It anticipates the judgment in the practical release of the righteous, and in the finished record of the impenitent, against the solemn review and decisions of that day.

3. It is a constant warning to man; a prudential modification of earthly good, counteracting its ensnaring charms; and, in mercy, it is the hand of God cutting short the cares of sin.

Ref. 1. Death itself is not to be deplored, but that which called for so terrible an expedient. Its indispensable *necessity* is found in *sin.* O, sin, sin! because of *thee*, the whole creation groaneth.

2. Gloomy as death is, it has more than an antidote in Christ; both in the spirit's release and in death's abolition, in the resurrection of the dead. To it the Christian is *subjected*, or rather *death* itself is subjected to hope.

3. To the impenitent, death is virtual damnation. It reveals character; it seals character; it ends reprieve, takes the forfeiture of all good at the hand of he sinner, and seals his doom.

XII.

NEHEMIAH IV. 6.—*So built we the wall; and all the wall was joined together unto the half thereof: for the people had a mind to work.*

Int. Expo. So? Built? All the wall? People? Mind? Work?

Doct When the people have a mind to work for God, they are sure to succeed with their work. Because:

I. When to the accomplishment of the work, all contribute, though the contribution of each may be small, yet the aggregate will be surprisingly great; sufficient to secure the result.

II. When the people have a mind to work, they will ever find their resources greatly to surpass their own estimate. Necessity *felt* is the great developer of supply, whether in nature, science. or grace.

III. When the people have a mind to work for God, God has a mind to work with his people. The sympathy, and the almightiness of God, insures success. God also bearing them witness both with signs and wonders, etc.

Ref. 1. The subject teaches us what will insure success in the new enterprise, which in the providence of God is thrown upon us, viz: an earnest mind to work *for God*, in it.

1. It is *God's work*, se let it be regarded by us.

2. It is a great work—comparatively great.

3. It is a needful work; the cause of truth demands it.

4. Our higher work of winning souls to Christ demands it.

2. I remark, the relation we sustain to others, who will be associated with us in this work, demands a *united* and *earnest* mind to work, on our part. I have no doubt they will have a mind to work; we must not allow them to surpass us in this holy work. Mutual strife will knit hearts for the new union, and make it prolific of future usefulness and comfort.

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